DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 138 089	FL 008 471
AUTHOR	Fanselow, John F., Ed.; Crymes, Ruth H., Ed.
TITLE	On Tesol '76.
INSTITUTION	Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages.
PUB DATE	76
NOTE	271p.; Papers selected from the Annual Convention of Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (10th, New York, N.Y., March 2-7, 1976)
AVAILABLE FROM	TESOL, 455 Nevils Building, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. 20007 ($6.50)
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.83 Plus Postage. HC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	Adult Education; *Conference Reports; Conversational Language Courses; Elementary Secondary Education; *English (Second Language); Films; Higher Education; Instructional Materials; *Language Instruction; Language Teachers; Listening Comprehension; Pronunciation Instruction; Reading Instruction; Rote Learning; *Second Language Learning; Sentence Structure; Sociolinguistics; Spelling; Teacher Developed Materials; Teacher Education; Teacher Workshops; *Teaching Methods

ABSTRACT

This document represents a sampling of the teaching done at the 1976 TESOL convention in New York City in workshops, demonstration lessons, presentations and plenary sessions. These twenty-six selections by 42 teachers reflect the present state of the art in TESOL. It covers a wide variety of topics of interest to the ESL (English as a Second Language) teacher; innovative teaching methods such as the Silent Way, Suggestopedia, and the "Fantasy Journey"; teaching listening comprehension; teacher training; research in interlanguage; approaches to teaching pronunciation and spelling; correction of classroom conversation errors; films and sociolingusitic awareness; reading; composition; the role of memory in language learning; manipulation of sentence structure with Cuisenaire rods; the development of WH-questions; oral drills of English structures; and the typewriter as an educational tool. (CFM)

****
* Documents acquired by ERIC include many informal unpublished *
* materials not available from other sources. ERIC makes every effort *
* to obtain the best copy available. Nevertheless, items of marginal *
* reproducibility are often encountered and this affects the quality *
* of the microfiche and hardcopy reproductions ERIC makes available *
* via the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). EDRS is not *
* responsible for the quality of the original document. Reproductions *
* supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made from the original. *
****

ED138089

FL008471

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL BY MICROFICHE ONLY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

TESOL

TO ERIC AND ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING UNDER AGREEMENTS WITH THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION. FURTHER REPRODUCTION OUTSIDE THE ERIC SYSTEM REQUIRES PERMISSION OF THE COPYRIGHT OWNER.

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

TESOL

TO ERIC AND ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING UNDER AGREEMENTS WITH THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION. FURTHER REPRODUCTION OUTSIDE THE ERIC SYSTEM REQUIRES PERMISSION OF THE COPYRIGHT OWNER.

ON TESOL '76

edited by

John F. Fanselow and Ruth H. Crymes

ON TESOL '76

Selections Based on Teaching
Done at the
Tenth Annual TESOL Convention
New York, New York
March 2-7, 1976

Edited by

John F. Fanselow
1976 Program Chairman

Ruth H. Crymes
Editor, *TESOL Quarterly*

Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages
Washington, D.C.

Copyright © 1976
Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages
Washington, D.C.
Library of Congress Catalog Card No. 76-46678

Copies available from:
TESOL
455 Nevils Building
Washington, D.C. 20057

Cover: Batik from Senegal
Layout: KOWA Graphics, Inc. Champaign, Illinois
Printing: KOWA Graphics, Inc. Champaign, Illinois

PREFACE

In the spring of 1975, the Program Chairman of the 1976 TESOL Convention issued this invitation: Teach at the 1976 TESOL Convention in New York City! Hundreds responded to the invitation and ultimately more than 300 did teach at the TESOL Convention in New York City—in workshops, demonstration lessons, presentations and plenary sessions. *On TESOL '76* represents a sampling of the teaching done at the Convention—in workshops, demonstration lessons, presentations and plenary sessions. The sampling, ordered alphabetically by author, represents attempts by forty-two fellow teachers to gain deeper, more precise and comprehensive insight into our work. The twenty-six selections clearly reflect the present State of the Art in TESOL. They look both forward and backward; they consolidate and question; they synthesize and break apart.

Just as we did not set a theme for the Convention, we have set no theme for this collection. Just as each of us finds a different meaning in the Batik design on the cover of *On TESOL '76*, each reader will find different meanings in each selection and will connect the work of each author with others in a unique and very personal way. Each author is grappling with the same central issue each reader is—the complex search for simple, elegant and elusive truth.

Whether one teaches the aged, pre-schoolers, tri-linguals, rich or poor, in North America or Southeast Asia, the task is the same for all of us who teach—to participate with our students in mutual hopes, sufferings and aspirations, to see that we all grow in our ability to make sense out of the noises, scribblings and movements we and others make in our lives.

We have relished the opportunity we have had to serve as conduits to bring to you these descriptions of teaching done at the 1976 TESOL Convention. Enjoy them. And if you have not yet joined us, do.* And teach us.

John F. Fanselow
Program Chairman,
1976 TESOL Convention
Department of Languages, Literature,
Speech and Theatre
Teachers College, Columbia University
New York, New York 10027

Ruth Crymes
Editor, *TESOL Quarterly*
Department of English as
a Second Language
University of Hawaii
Honolulu, Hawaii 96822

---

* There is a description of TESOL and a TESOL application at the end of the collection.

On TESOL '76:

Table of Contents

Preface iii

The Development of Wn-questions in Adult Second Language Learners . . . . Nathalie Bailey, Miriam Eisenstein and Carolyn Madden 1

Instant English and Related Techniques . . Ann Barker 11

English at Your Fingertips . . . . . . Rosella Bernstein 17

The Silent Way and Teacher Training . . . . Charles H. Blatchford 23

A Description and Evaluation of Suggestopedia—A New Teaching Methodology . . . Robert W. Bushman and Harold S. Madsen 29

Teachers' and Students' Preferences for Correction of Classroom Conversation Errors . Ruth L. Cathcart and Judy E. W. B. Olsen 41

Teacher Training: A Counseling Focus . Gretchen Dowling and Ken Sheppard 55

Making Sense of It All: What's Happening in the Study of Language and Language Learning and Why It May be Important for the Language Teacher . . . . David E. Eskey 67

The "Fantasy Journey" . . . . . . Lynn A. Fasten and Charles A. Findley 75

Investigation of the Relationship between Memorization and Rule Acquisition . . . . . W. K. Gallagher 89

▾

The Silent Way . . . . Caleb Gattegno 101

Research in Interlanguage: Syntax . Beverly K. Hart and
Jacquelyn D. Schachter 105

An Integrated Approach to Pronunciation and Spelling
in ESL Curricula . . . . . . Clifford A. Hill and
John S. Rittershofer 117

Native Language and Black Dialect Interference in the
Oral Reproduction of Standard English by
Puerto Rican Pupils . . . . Ann Johnson,
Roland Axelson,
Lorene Lugo and
Perry Zirkel 129

Doing Things with Words—Verbal Interaction in
Lockstep and Small Group Classroom
Situations . . . . Michael H. Long,
Leslie Adams,
Marilyn McLean and
Fernando Castaños 137

In One Ear and Out the Other: Implications of Memory
Studies for Language Learning . . Bernice S. Melvin and
Wilga M. Rivers 155

A Complete Listening Comprehension
Program for English Language University
Preparation . . . . Jan Demming Montassir 165

Films and Sociolinguistic Awareness . . . R. Paul Murphy 175

Composition: Controlled by the Teacher, Free
for the Student . . . . Ann Raimes 183

Who's He When He's at Home? or What Does
What Does It Mean? Mean? . . . . Robert Rainsbury 195

Reading in ESL . . . . Pat Rigg 203

Making Sense of Language Learning . . . . Frank Smith 211

Teaching English as an Alien Language . . Earl W. Stevick 225

Manipulation of Sentence Structure with Cuisenaire Rods for Teaching English as a Second Language . . . . . . Herbert Sundvall and Judi Keen 239

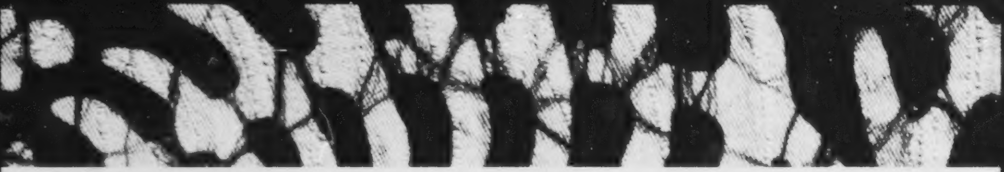
Language Learning in Social Situations . . . Abby Thomas 249

The Authenticity of Language Data . . . Henry G. Widdowson 261

Organizational Get-Together 271
- The English Speaking Union of the United States . . . 271
- The United States Information Agency 272
- Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages . . 275

TESOL Application Form 276

8



The Development of Wh-questions in Adult Second Language Learners

NATHALIE BAILEY, MIRIAM EISENSTEIN, and CAROLYN MADDEN

Recently in English as a Second Language studies and discussions, the language learner has emerged as the focal point of study. This new direction does not imply that we as teachers are no longer necessary but rather that we must be increasingly sensitive to the language learner's attitudes, motivations, strategies, and learning patterns.

This study represents an effort to contribute to the ongoing research on how adults learn a second language. Specifically we investigated the development in adult learners of the auxiliary system of Wh questions, *i.e.* simple present *do* and *does* and present progressive, *is* and *are*. Classroom observations of adult learners suggest that like children, the adult interim grammar is first characterized by omission of the auxiliary and second by failure to invert. Brown (1968), Klima and Bellugi (1966) did a longitudinal study of three children in the early stages of language development. These are some examples of Wh-questions:

Omission
Why you smiling? (Stage 2)
What the dollie have?
Where me sleep?
Why the Christmas tree going? (Stage 3)

Inversion
Why the kitty can't stand up?
What he can ride in?

Ravem (1968) did a longitudinal study of his six year old son learning English and Hatch (1974) did a comparison study of second language learners of different ages. These are some examples of Wh-questions:

Ravem
What you eating? (Time 1)
What he's doing?
What she is doing?
What you going to build tomorrow?
What you want? (6:3 exposure time)

This selection is based on teaching done in a presentation at the 1976 TESOL Convention. Nathalie Bailey and Carolyn Madden teach at the English Language Institute at Queens College, City University of New York, Flushing, New York 11367; Miriam Eisenstein teaches at Fairleigh Dickinson University, Teaneck, New Jersey 07666. The authors wish to thank Marilyn Rosenthal, Irwin Eisenstein and the linguistics students at Queen College for their help.

Hatch
What you doing? (Stage III)
Why the baby crying?
Why you speak French?
How I can finish?

Noticeably, these studies indicated that the present progressive emerges early although not as a fully marked form. Further, these early stages of question development can be characterized as having no *do-support* and no inversion.

We investigated the increase in use and accuracy of *do* and *does*, and *is* and *are* in Wh-questions by means of three tasks: cued production, elicited imitation and intuition. We predicted that *do* and *does* would increase but not improve, *i.e.* the number of uses of questions requiring *do-support* would increase but accuracy of form would appear to be deteriorating before it got better; and that *is* and *are* would increase in use and accuracy concurrently.

We also investigated two error types:

1) omission of the auxiliary
2) failure to invert

Our prediction was that failure to invert would be a later error type than omission. We recognize that language acquisition is more accurately characterized by stages of development in progress rather than completed stages of development. People do not suddently acquire a new form and use it correctly. As Roger Brown puts it ". . . performance does not abruptly pass from total absence to reliable presence" (Brown, 1973:257). Therefore, our prediction will be confirmed if a decrease in auxiliary omission significantly precedes a decrease in failure to invert.

If the evidence confirms our predictions two things will emerge. First, we will find that the progressive precedes simple present which coincides with much of the data on first and second language studies of children. Second, there is evidence for an adult learning strategy. The initial stages of learning difficult forms will be characterized by structural avoidance and high accuracy for very few forms, then increase in use will accompany an increase in errors. Finally, use is stabilized and accuracy of form increases.

Procedure

Forty-eight adult subjects were tested. The subjects were members of three classes in English as a Second Language (ESL), the second, third, and fourth levels out of six, at the English Language Institute (ELI), Queens College, New York. The ELI is an intensive all day program for foreign students preparing to study in American colleges.

The subjects came from twelve language backgrounds. There were twelve speakers each of Persian and Spanish and smaller numbers of speakers of Chinese, Korean, Greek, French, Japanese, Hungarian, Italian, Thai, Polish and Pustu.

The three tasks involved in this experiment were administered in the following order: production, imitation, and intuition. The production task consisted of asking questions about pictures. The pictures we used were the covers of *New Yorker* magazines. We selected scenes that were familiar to the subjects and, in each case, depicted people engaged in activities. The subjects were cued to ask questions beginning with *what*, *where*, *how* and *why*. Yes/no questions were not included because of interference from variables of intonation. *When* was left out because it usually implies future and *who* was left out because it does not demand inversion all the time.

ESL students from linguistics classes at Queens College and the authors were the examiners. The Wh-questions which the subjects asked were answered by the examiners in order to make the interview more conversational. A minimum of three pictures was used with each subject. They were asked to try to formulate as many as ten questions per picture. If they could not think of anything to ask, the examiner would prompt them by saying, "Ask about something that is happening now," or "Ask about something that happens everyday," or "Can you ask a question with *where?*", for example. The production and imitation tasks were both tape recorded and transcribed later by the same person who conducted the interview where possible.

The imitation task was composed of sixteen sentences read by the examiner only once and repeated by the subjects. Four sentences each with *is*, *are*, *does* and *do* were used. Use of the four question words was also balanced: all four were used with each auxiliary. The length of the sentence was controlled to exceed short term memory. Each sentence was fifteen syllables long. No complex sentences were used.

The intuition task, which was given on a separate day, was administered to one class group at a time by a teacher of that group. The subjects were asked to judge whether a question was grammatically correct. There were fifty items in all. As nearly as possible the incorrect sentences were balanced by correct sentences so that the subject would not form an expectation that the question would be incorrectly formed. In addition some sentences with bizarre word order were used to further control for the possibility of a learning effect. Correct sentences and sentences with omission and non-inversion errors were presented for each auxiliary, with the exception of non-inversion errors for *do* and *does*. These were not presented because our pilot indicated that they were not an error type.

For the production task a formula was worked out to score the grammar of each auxiliary relative to the number of occasions a subject created to use that auxilary. So if a subject used eight present progressive questions with *are*, those eight sentences were scored for % correct, % with auxiliary omitted, % with auxiliary non-inverted, and % with *other* type errors. The results were all computed using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) in order to reflect individual variance.

Results

We predicted that *do* and *does* would increase in use before they improved and that *is* and *are* would improve and increase concurrently. Our production results indicate that *do* and *does* increase between levels two and three and improve between levels three and four. (See Figure 1. All of the dark lines are changes which reached significance. The numbers on the graph give the level of significance.) Accuracy actually dropped for *do* and *does* between levels two and three while rate of use was going up.

Is confirms our prediction for steady improvement between levels two and three and three and four. Use, however, only increased between levels two and three. Between levels three and four there is a tendency for the use of the progressive, in general, to decrease. This happened for both *is* and *are*. And not only did *are* fail to increase in use, it also showed no improvement in accuracy. The circle on the graph (Figure 1) represents group four accuracy and it is lower than group two accuracy. It appears that *are* is still on the downward trajectory of *do* and *does* before they got better.

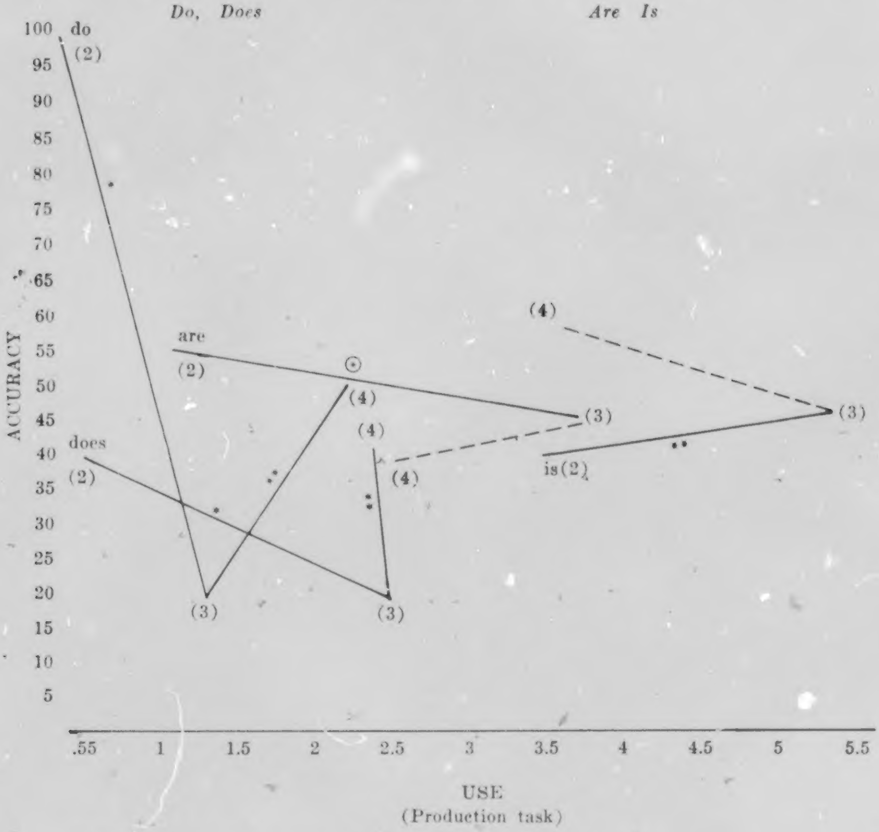
Up to this point we have been looking at production results. Our data from imitation and intuition partially substantiate the results discussed above. In both tasks *is* improved before *do* and *does*. However, further definitive statements await statistical analysis.

Our predictions on error types were as follows: we said omission errors would decrease before inversion errors would decrease. For these results see Figure 2. *Is* omission decreased where we thought it would and *does* omission appears to, though it did not reach significance. *Are* decreases only slightly as we would now expect, knowing about its later development.

An apparent contradiction to our hypothesis about auxiliary omission occurs in the production data for *is*. Omission decreases between two and three significantly. However, omission proceeds to increase again between levels three and four. This mirror image pattern has also been noted by Anderson (1976). (His interpretation is that learners return to an early error type just before mastery of a structure.)

As expected errors of non-inversion pertained mostly to the pro-

Figure 1*



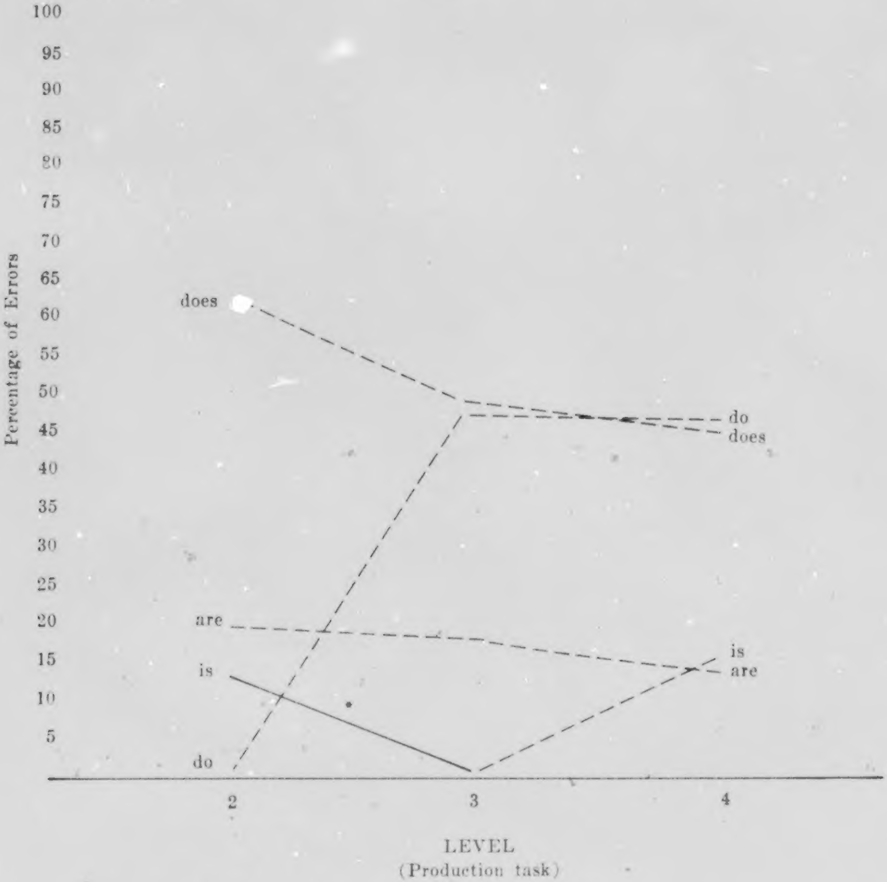
* for changes in accuracy, $p < .01$
** $p < .09$
() numbers in parentheses refer to level

⊙ This change was significant in the opposite direction of our prediction.
--- Broken lines did not reach significance

gressive, although they did occur for *do* and *does* in very small numbers. (see Figure 3). Again *is* results were very different from *are* results. *Is* inversion errors decreased between levels three and four as anticipated. *Are* inversion errors were still on the rise.

To summarize our results on error types: *is* conforms to our predictions—first omission decreases and then inversion. *Are* interacts in the right direction. Omission errors are on the decline and inversion errors are still steadily climbing.

Figure 2
OMISSION

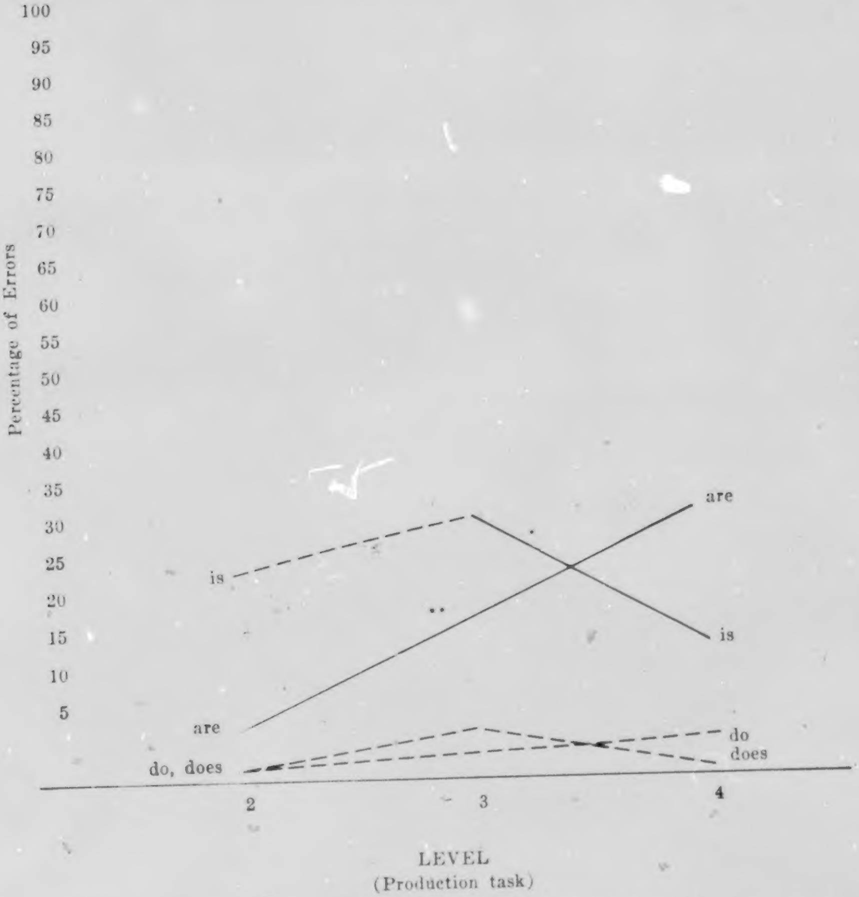


* This line represents a significant change at the .07 level.

Discussion of Implications for Teachers

The first step in learning a new structure appears to be greater use. In early stages learners use avoidance strategies and often limit their use of new structures to situations in which they feel they will be correct. Then they start to use the new structure more. But contrary to what one would expect, this greater use is not accompanied by a significant decrease in the percentage of errors made. In fact, as use increased, in this experiment, percentage of error increased or stayed at an already high level.

Figure 3
INVERSION



* This change represents a tendency in the right direction ($p < .1$).
** The change between levels 2 and 4 was significant at the .03 level (two tailed).
Broken lines were not significant changes.

As an example, in our results for *do*, level two got *do* right 100% of the time. But only one person used it . . . once! Then in level three, each person used *do* about 1.5 times and the rate of error was 72%. Finally, in level four, the rate of error dropped to 47%, while the amount of use did not change significantly. *Does* went from roughly 60% error in level 2 (with each person using *does* .5 times) to 80% error in level three (2.5 sentences per person) to 58% error in level four (still 2.5 sentences). When use increases and a student is making more errors, it might subjectively appear to the teacher that the student is getting worse or, at any rate, not making any progress. And since in total quantity the student is saying more, the errors may stand out more than the correct sentences. The danger here is that the teacher may communicate a negative feeling to the student through correcting too much or just through general attitude. But if we as teachers understand that increased fluency is the first step in the language learning process, and that greater accuracy in the use of the structure will follow, we can communicate positive feelings to our students, and encourage greater fluency in spite of the errors we perceive.

The idea that the students should not be allowed to repeat errors because these errors might be learned, is certainly too extreme. This is not to say that the students' errors should not be corrected. Merely that we should strive to find a middle ground where students are reminded that they have not yet reached the goal of 100% use of the structure, but that their increased fluency is a step in the right direction. Also, we should give students greater opportunity to use new structures.

Although we have tried to make general statements about language learning on the basis of how people learn Wh-questions, some specific results are also relevent for teaching. It appears that students first often omit the auxiliary. Later as auxiliary omission decreases, inversion errors increase. This might seem trivial, since in order to have an inversion error, an auxiliary must be present. However, our intuition data reveals more. Level three students exercised very poor judgment when the auxiliary was present, even when auxiliary inversion was not done or done incorrectly. In fact, they made significantly more errors in intuition for inversion errors than the lower level two. Level three accepted some very bizarre sentences as correct as long as the auxiliary was present. Although they have learned that an auxiliary belongs in questions, students at this level are confused as to where it is placed in relation to other constituents. As teachers we could first design tasks that focus on presence versus absence of the auxiliary, and later give a lot of practice in placing the auxiliary in the correct position.

We also found that students learn to use the present progressive before the simple present. Still, some people have expressed the opinion that simple present forms are easier and come first in learning. It is true that people in early stages use base forms of verbs, but these could be tenseless—just a first attempt on the part of the learner and not an approximation of the simple present at all. Gough (1975) shows that at this early stage students are not ready to handle the distinction between the present progressive and the simple present.

Her findings agree with ours. The present progressive emerges first and may be used for all presents. The simple present comes later.

A comparison of the three tasks we used yielded interesting results. The students all did far better on the intuition task than on the others. Production and imitation results were quite close in terms of accuracy. Imitation was not always better; it swung back and forth. The intuition results support the view that because students can passively recognize what is and what is not correct, it does not necessarily mean that they can actively produce a structure. It suggests that we should limit the time spent in the classroom on discrimination tasks and be sure that a great deal of time is spent on active production. Our data does show, however, that the ability to discriminate precedes the ability to produce structures actively.

The other surprising result of the task comparison, *i.e.* the lack of difference between imitation and production, suggests a fruitful area for further research. It may indicate that we can test active grammar through imitation, which is easier to control than production.

How can we as teachers translate the results of this study into more effective teaching methods? At the very least, what we know about language learning should prevent us from interfering with the natural process. This is not to say we should sit back and do nothing. We can use our knowledge about language learning to interact with our students in a more effective manner and create language situations and challenges appropriate to their stage of development.

References

Anderson, Lloyd. 1976. Scaling interlanguages: detecting learner hypotheses and strategies. Unpublished paper. 4375 Ludlow St. Boulder, Colorado 80303.

Brown, R. 1968. The development of wh-questions in child speech, *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior*, 7, 279–90.

——— 1973. A first language. Cambridge Press.

Gough, Judith. 1975. Comparative studies in second language learning. (unpublished) Los Angeles, University of California.

Hatch, Evelyn. 1974. Second language learning—universals? *Working Papers in Bilingualism*, no. 3.

Klima, E.S. and Bellugi, U. 1966. Syntactic regularities in the speech of children, J. Lyons and R. J. Wales (eds.) *Psycholinguistic Papers*, Edinburgh.

Ravem, Roar. 1974. Wh-questions in first and second language learners. J. Richards (ed.) *Error Analysis*. Longman Press London.

Instant English and Related Techniques

ANN BARKER

How does one handle eight hours of teaching a day, six days a week plus frequent holiday and Sunday teaching as part of an inservice training program for teachers? How must one function, teaching a total of 923 students English, working with nineteen different groups on ten different levels?

The conditions under which I teach mean that I am almost constantly in class during my waking hours and before groups as large as 55 students. There is no time for pre-class preparation during this period. My solution is what I demonstrated in New York: having an always ready repertory of oral drills on English structures. I concentrated only on structures because of limited time, though of course one needs at one's fingertips routines for the teaching of pronunciation, vocabulary and cultural aspects as well.

These are drills to be done independently of textbooks. They aim for the participation of all students, are mostly used to polish what has already been introduced and though well-rehearsed often appear to be spontaneous on the part of the teacher. It is vital that the teacher have everything memorized, never using notes, that his performance flow smoothly, be well-paced and varied and that it be apparent to the student that the teacher is enjoying himself. These points are important for communication; notes and textbooks in hand, hesitancy and signs of displeasure create barriers between teacher and student.

Observers at the demonstration were given first a three-page outline of English structures important and difficult for speakers of Spanish. Then they were given slips of paper upon which to list the point of grammar they wanted to see demonstrated. Slips were folded and placed in a bag, from which I drew them at random one at a time.

The first slip drawn was: How do you drill students on the "s" form of the third-person singular of the present tense?

I must explain here that I had carried my briefcase with me from Mexico. This is my bag of magic tricks that is always with me in the classroom; I often think that I could no longer teach if it were lost or stolen. Among its contents are pictures cut out from magazines and mounted that illustrate regular and irregular verbs in English.

The s-form was an easy point to demonstrate. I reached into the

---

This selection is based on teaching done in a demonstration lesson at the 1976 TESOL Convention. Ann Barker teaches at the Universidad Michoacana de San Nicolás de Hidalgo, Apartado 49-A, Morelia, Michoacán, México.

briefcase and drew out my verb pictures. I said, "Repeat," showing a picture of a man coming into an office building: He comes to work on time every day. More pictures: She drinks brandy every day. He reads the newspaper every morning. It often rains. Then questions, showing the same pictures: Does he come to work on time every day?

I demonstrated two ways I correct the absence of the "s" in the students' answers. I showed the card on which I have an eight-inch high "S" printed. The student automatically corrects himself upon seeing the card; once he is conditioned I need only to reach for the card. I also keep in my kit a packet of two by three-inch papers with an "s" on each. A student is given one of these when he misses an "s." At the end of questioning, all students with "s's" must stand. They "pay off" their "s's" and regain their seats by answering questions requiring the "s" ending that the other students in the class ask them. It is necessary to explain to the latter that their questions must begin with "Does he. . .?" "Does she. . .?" or "Does it. . .?"

Next problem: How do you drill the comparative and superlative of adjectives?

Again from the kit: a picture of a long-haired youth and a picture of Albert Einstein. Which man has longer hair? (Einstein) A third picture of a pigtailed Indian. Which man has the longest hair of the three?

More pictures, always showing only two at first. Men on horses. People on an elephant. A rocket. Which way to travel is slower? Faster? The slowest, the fastest?

Volkswagen. Ford. Rolls Royce. Littler. Littlest. More expensive The most expensive. Six sets of pictures in all. Three to a set.

I take another slip from the bag: How do you practice count and non-count nouns?

For this, the blackboard. I write:

Is there some { in the refrigerator?

Students are asked to supply the nouns that fit in the bracket. Like this:

Is there some	meat soup ice cream beer butter chicken	in the refrigerator?

I ask: How do you answer with "yes"? They answer and I write to the left of the bracket, "Yes, there is some . . ." How do you answer with "No"? I write, "No, there isn't any. . ."

In plural now:

Are there any {
eggs
sandwiches in the refrigerator?
hot dogs
carrots
apples (these, of course, are supplied by the students)
}

Again with "Yes" and "No," short answers as well. Students repeat the questions and answers after the teacher. They are then asked to "pick a victim" and ask him any of the questions for him to answer affirmatively or negatively with complete sentences. It is not desirable to tell students that this is a practice of count and non-count nouns.

They soon become accustomed to this technique, which I call "Instant English" because of the numerous sentences practiced with rapidity by the students in a short time. It is one of the most valuable and popular techniques that I have developed.

When asked how I drilled the three basic sentence types, interrogative, affirmative and negative, I replied that I used the above technique as well.

I write on the board:

Does Marisela { fish on the bus?

Students supply verbs such as eat, sell, cook, wash, clean, have, forget, lose, bring. They follow the same routine as before, which they soon learn. They particularly like the rapid repetition of the sentences and of "etcetera" in boisterous chorus when this becomes tiresome. Names used in examples are of people in class (Anglicized if possible) or Mickey Mouse, your mother, President Echeverría, the King of Africa, Muhammed Ali, Raquel Welch; the cannibals, the rascals, Romeo and Juliet, etc. I always try to avoid classroom situations, these being the least interesting in examples.

When asked about the three types of sentences, I was very pleased because this gave me the opportunity to bring out my "magic cards" from my briefcase. These are the size of index cards and are in sets. Each set has small related pictures with a hinged piece of construction paper that hides the picture. For example, there are pictures of foods: fish, cake, strawberries, bread, grapes, etc. One student goes to the front of the room. He chooses a card and peeks at the picture, which the other students cannot see. They guess, asking in this way, what the student ate.

"Did you eat bread?"
"No, I didn't eat bread."

"Did you eat fish?"

"Yes, I ate fish."

The student guessing correctly then goes to the front of the room. Of course, questions may be practiced in any person or tense.

I have six sets of cards: animals (Did you see a lion, pig, crocodile?); clothing (Is Mary wearing a skirt, shirt, pants?); means of transportation (Are Mr. and Mrs. Kissinger going to Paris by horse, bike, ship?); children, one to six in number (Is there one child? Are there two children?). This is fun for either young or adult pupils, but like any technique it cannot be repeated too often. It has this advantage: though it requires considerable preparation at one point, looking for pictures, cutting, pasting, later it is always ready, fresh and adaptable for many levels. This is very useful when one must move from class to class in rapid succession.

Another problem: How to teach the present perfect, contrasting it with the simple past.

I had two observers go to the blackboard and gave them the same dictation I use with my students.

> Tarzan arrived in the jungle by plane as a baby. Since that time he has made his home with his friends, the monkeys. One day a beautiful blond came to the jungle. It was Jane. She has taught him the present and past tense of English verbs and other things. One day they fell in love while eating bananas. Now they are very old. They often remember the many happy years they have spent together and with the monkeys.

This is followed up by giving the students interrogative words and phrases (How long . . .? How long ago . . .? Who . . .? When . . .? etc.) for them to form questions and answers based on the paragraph.

I also drew from my briefcase my three-foot length of string attached to a piece of chalk. I drew a circle on the classroom floor using this and told students one by one to get in the circle. How many students have gotten in the circle? Have you gotten in the circle yet? When did you get in the circle? Who hasn't gotten in the circle?

The time went very fast. With this the demonstration ended. There were so many other methods I should like to have demonstrated.

Some examples.

The passive voice.

I write on the board:

by Cervantes
by my mother
by the President of Mexico
by a Russian diplomat
by a five-year old boy
by the dog
by Dagoberta Macedo
(a student in the class)

Each student is given three small slips of paper. He is asked to write three phrases in the passive voice, one on each slip, that could be concluded with one of the phrases on the board. The teacher checks to see that this is being done correctly. When all the students have finished, the slips are collected and read aloud by one or two students in the order in which they are received. Results are like the following: The cat was chased by Cervantes. Don Quixote was written by my mother. My dress was made by the President of Mexico. The sentences are usually memorable and hilarious.

Possessive adjectives and pronouns.

I write one or the other group on the board, asking the students for guidance. I draw the face of a very handsome man on the blackboard. (I like to draw.) I color his eyes with blue chalk, this being necessary since I am usually the only blue-eyed person around. I point to a young man in class and say "Repeat": His eyes are brown. I then ask: What color are his eyes? Then: Her eyes are brown. Their eyes are brown, and eventually, Our eyes are blue, all followed by questions and answers. In this drill the only element that changes is the structure being studied, important for its early mastery. Also, the point practiced can be visualized. Of course, this may be used for possessive pronouns as well.

Used to.

Students are asked to repeat several times: I used to sing opera as a child, but I don't sing opera any more. Then I ask one: Do you still sing opera? If he does not answer according to the formula given, he is instructed to do so.

Students are asked:

Do you live in a palace?
Do you know the President of Mexico?
Do you have money in a Swiss bank?
Are you popular with the girls? (To a boy.)
Do you smoke cigars?
Do you come to class on time?

Should.

I usually translate this for the students: Should is *debería* in Spanish. Then I ask the question: Should we come to class tomorrow or should we go to the movies? When this is answered correctly, the class repeats the answer. I begin another question: Should Carmen get married or should she . . .? I indicate with a gesture that a student is to finish the question. A typical completion: Should Carmen get married or should she go to the movie?

Another student answers.

I continue:

Should John cut his hair or . . .?
Should I go to Acapulco on my vacation or . . .?
Should we invite Ralph to our party or . . .?

And now, whereas at the convention time was limited, here page-space is confining. I have not even mentioned how my students and I use class-written dramatizations, poems and jokes; how we employ songs and a class newspaper. Nor have I mentioned the benefits of the splendid Mexican sense of humor, responsiveness and warmth.

English at Your Fingertips

ROSELLA BERNSTEIN

One hundred years and three months ago a publication called *The Nation* contained a prophetic advertisement announcing an incredible device that could teach spelling and punctuation (Current 1954:86). Some years later it was stated that this boon to learning was of incomparable value as an educational implement in the teaching of reading, writing, spelling, and composition (Herkimer County Historical Society 1923:132). From the beginning this learning tool revolutionized the world of business and effected the spread of English as a commercial and technical language throughout the world. Today, it is, without question, a basic communicative tool for business and personal use. Yet few people are aware of its applications as a learning instrument in second language acquisition. This learning instrument is the typewriter, and its use is exemplified by highly specialized typewriter-learning classes designed for foreign students such as those at the University of Southern California.

But before the scientific evidence can be examined or methodology explained, discard your old ideas and abandon your prejudices about any typing class you may have had or heard about because this mode of instruction is not based on rhythm, endless repetitive drills, or other non-meaningful activities. It does, in fact, encompass a variety of psychological and language learning principles that facilitate the learning of English through the simultaneous acquisition and integration of both perceptual-motor and linguistic skills. These principles have been applied in the development of a textbook, *English at Your Fingertips* (Bernstein, *et al.* 1975), which forms the basis for our classes.

Years ago, when the typewriter was first being used as a writing machine and sometimes learning device, William James noted that "if a topic awakens no spontaneous attention it must borrow an interest from elsewhere." That interest can "be derived from something that the teacher associates with the task." His theory suggested a learning adventage to be gained when one can "actively re-echo" the words heard or read (James 1969:246). The typewriter is an instrument of "active re-echo," a tool that will automatically cause the student to increase attention to the subject at hand and permit greater capacity for learning and comprehension.

As already suggested, the typewriter has a long but little known

---

This selection is based on teaching done in a presentation at a Round Table on English for Specific Purposes at the 1976 TESOL Convention. Rosella Bernstein teaches at the University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California 90007.

history as an educational tool that takes advantage of the plural use of the senses. Highlighting the constant experimentation that has taken place was the landmark study started in 1930 by Drs. Wood and Freeman which involved nearly 15,000 students and 400 teachers and included schools from New York to New Mexico in the experimental and control groups. The study was conducted to discover the form and extent of the educational influence of the typewriter. The results of this two-year investigation gave definite evidence that students using typewriters made more progress and scored higher on periodic achievement tests than did students who did not use typewriters (Wood 1932).

In 1964 a research project relating to foreign students at the university level was conducted at San Francisco State University. The study, designed to discover how the typewriter helped in the learning of English as a second or foreign language, indicated that English learning was significantly greater in the experimental typewriting group (McLeod 1964).

At the same time that this theory of typewriter learning was repeatedly being examined in new studies with new evidence relating to different levels and subjects, psychologists were describing similar results from a different point of view. They were filling their publications with the distinction between incidental and intentional learning. Using many different cover tasks, their research demonstrated that increased learning takes place when something else is associated with the learning task.

In 1974, a psychological inquiry by Dr. Dawley, combined these two points of view by using the typewriter as the cover task while distinguishing between intentional and incidental learning. Studying 105 beginning typewriting students, it was found that they learned the factual material they typed even when not instructed to do so. But when other students in this same study were told to read and concentrate on the material they were typing, they learned significantly more information than the incidental learning group and achieved even greater typewriting speed (Dawley 1974:337–338).

Therefore, for our purposes, the typewriter learning studies and the incidental/intentional learning studies are compatible observations indicating that English language learning can be enhanced while typewriting.

Having thus far taken the cautious and more pragmatic approach to the relationship between language learning and learning typewriting, I would like to speculate briefly on a possible positive relationship between language acquisition and typewriter learning. The importance of perceptual and sensory-motor activity in first language acquisition is widely accepted. And while second language learning is thought to be intrinsically different, occurring as a more intellectual process, it also depends on perceptual and sensory-motor elements. Learning typewriting involves many of the same neuropsychological processes, and although they are not completely identical with those important in language acquisition, there is significant overlap. Consequently, we can reasonably expect facilitation of language learning by its being linked to typewriter learning.

An evaluation of the relevance of the typewriter to language learning must of necessity encompass an examination of the stages of typewriter skill development in juxtaposition to the stages of second language acquisition, for this forms the basis of our methodology.

As an example, phonological and lexical aspects of language are best learned at the initial alphabet or key learning phase. Syntactic variations can be included as more of the keyboard is learned. Paragraph construction and logical internal structuring are best left until the students are rather more advanced in their typewriting proficiency. At the same time, some aspects of language acquisition such as spelling, punctuation, word order, and reading speed can profitably be taught at all typewriter learning stages.

To understand the rationale for these stages, let's examine the underlying mechanisms involved in learning typewriting. Based on research in the field of typewriter learning and the psychology of skill acquisition, typewriting consists of the attempted mastery over a series of stroking habits—called chains—in which each motion in the series is largely based on the "feel" or kinesthetic cue of the preceding motion. However, before this chaining takes place, while the skill is being learned, the finger responses are made on a letter-by-letter basis. Perception of each letter in the copy is the stimulus for each key stroke. At this time the learner pronounces each letter to himself as he strikes its key. In other words, subvocalization is intimately associated with the stimulus for stroking. At the next level, some letters become chained and the typist perceives and vocalizes familiar words. Even the 40 word per minute typist performs mainly on a letter-by-letter basis with the subvocalized chaining of simple words. Indeed, it is not until speeds of about 60 words per minute that the perception and subvocalization of individual letters and familiar words changes to a more automatic process which bypasses the vocal-auditory aspect of language (West 1974).

The implications for beginning or intermediate typists are now surfacing—what better way to implement learning of the phonic and visual patterns of English than when the student is learning the keyboard. This rehearsal of responses through subvocalization, intellectualization, and copying of written material forms an external feedback loop to maintain the information being typed in short-term memory, thus overcoming the normal rapid decay and improving the transfer to long-term memory. Because subvocalization is so important to this process, we use frequent overt vocalization sessions as an integral part of this learning system—working on pronunciation and explanation of new material.

In this beginning phase of typewriter learning, sentence meaning is not primary and even though the student can read and comprehend a sentence before typing it, it is the constituent parts that take on importance. Therefore, while we strive for some sentence classifications, they must of necessity be broken down to individual words or parts of speech for effective use. Things that require active discrimination such as comparatives or homophones are very workable items in the early stages of typewriter learning.

In support of this, a recent perceptual study at Massachusetts Institute of Technology found that students presented with homophones processed all possible interpretations of the word before arriving at its meaning, thereby building up the variety of responses necessary for a multi-encoding process (Shanon 1974:571-574). This also happens when a student types a homophone or, for that matter, any word that has several definitions. As an example, the sound "right" is a noun, adjective, adverb, verb, and has four spellings and ten meanings, several of which can be processed at any one time as the word is being typed.

Consider next the question of the kind of practice materials needed to acquire typewriting skill. A common tactic for typewriting classes has been to devote large amounts of practice to the short and commonly occurring words in order to build letter chains by intensive repetition of small units of material. Unfortunately, this causes an accumulation of both mental and muscular inhibitions. It is now known that the use of a wide open vocabulary of ordinary prose will contain the various letter sequences in precisely the proportions in which they occur in the language and will, therefore, better serve the learning of typewriting. For example, it is not the word SIGN that is to be mastered, but the sequence S-I-G-N as it may occur in such words as SIGN, SIGNAL, DESIGN, SIGNATURE, RESIGNATION. This also corresponds to language learning theory which suggests that phonological rules are best illustrated by varying pronunciations of the root rather than inhibitive repetition.

It seems appropriate, therefore, to prolong this initial keyboard learning stage beyond the normal time usually devoted to it in vocational typewriting manuals, in order to take advantage of the English learning processes available to us at this level. Then, after the keyboard is learned, another area of applicability becomes available in addition to the ones we have discussed. We can emphasize the interrelationship between sentences, the construction of paragraphs, and how the language is used. By the kind of copy provided in the text, we can orient the students to the language or vernacular of scientists, businessmen, artists, or even linguists. We can inform them of our customs and habits. And by keeping the material difficult and varied, we can heighten the students' attention and delay automation and chaining.

Another workable unit of learning that is part of typewriting instruction is the proofreading of completed typewritten material. It can be used as a means of fixing the left to right reading habit, as a means of inducing faster reading, and as a recently reported study of graduate students showed, as a means of intensifying learning (Wolk 1974:189–193).

In summation, I hope I have offered some evidence to persuade you to view learning English by typewriting from several new perspectives over and above its obvious personal and vocational applications. While use of the typewriter as part of the language learning experience may at first appear to involve only incidental learning, it can in fact become an integral part of the acquisition process—as a motivating force, a feedback link, and as a means of heightening intentional learning. To fully achieve the synergism which the typewriter can add to language learning requires carefully constructed and purposeful materials as well as the instructors' understanding of the principles involved. Although it is tempting to suggest this method as a panacea—as the ideal form of instruction—I can't in all good conscience do that. But, I do realistically suggest that it is a viable adjunct learning system that does, indeed, put English at your fingertips.

References

Bernstein, Rosella, Charles W. Gay, Robert B. Kaplan, and Ron D. Schoesler. 1975. *English at your fingertips*. Portland, Oregon, English Language Services.

Current, Richard N. 1954. *The typewriter (and the men who made it)*. Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 86, fig. 17.

Dawley, Linda T. and Harold H. Dawley, Jr. 1974. "Incidental and intentional learning of economic information in beginning typewriting." *Perceptual and Motor Skills*, 38, 337–338.

Herkimer County Historical Society. 1923. *The story of the typewriter 1873–1923*. Herkimer, New York, 132.

James, William. 1969. *Psychology: briefer course*. London, Collier-Macmillan Ltd., 246. (Abridgement of *The principles of psychology* originally published by Henry Holt in 1890).

McLeod, Doris and Ramona First. 1964. *The cooperative research project No. S-040*. Washington, D.C., Office of Education. United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Shannon, Benny. 1974. "The two meanings of a homophone." *Perception and Psychophysics*, Vol. 16 (3), 571–574.

West, Leonard J. 1974. *Implications of Research for Teaching Typewriting*. Delta

Phi Epsilon Research Bulletin No. 4. Minnesota, Gustavus Adolphus College. 2nd. Ed.

Wolk, Stephen. 1974. "The influence of meaningfulness upon intentional and incidental learning of verbal material." *Memory and Cognition,* Vol. 2, No. 1A, 189–193.

Wood, Ben D. and Frank N. Freeman. 1932. *An experimental study of the educational influences of the typewriter in the elementary school classroom.* New York, The Macmillan Company.

The Silent Way and Teacher Training

CHARLES H. BLATCHFORD

The purpose of this paper is not to explain Gattegno's Silent Way, defend it, or demonstrate it, but rather to recount something of what I got out of a weeklong Silent Way workshop for ESL teachers and a one-weekend Silent Way workshop in learning Russian. My purpose in taking the ESL workshop was to learn what I could apply to the training of teachers in a university MA in ESL training program, and my purpose in taking Russian was to have an experience of the Silent Way from a student's point of view. (I thought I would be in the class primarily as an objective observer, but it turned out I could not help fully participating.) More specifically, I approached both workshops to see what I could adopt from Silent Way methodology in the conduct of my own methods course.

One problem which I see in teacher training is how to reconcile two levels—the level of the actual language class with the level of the methods class. My notion is that it is very difficult to train students to teach in such-and-such a way unless the methods class is handled in like manner. We are faced with the same distinction as seen in the phrase, "teach the language, not about the language." I see myself often teaching methods by teaching about methods.

As a result of Gattegno's ESL workshop and Russian course, I came up with some questions I now ask myself about my methods classes, and which I feel reflect some of the principles or attitudes that provoked my satisfaction with learning Russian the Silent Way.

1. To what extent do I subordinate my teaching to the students' learning?

2. To what extent do I create or generate pregnant situations that allow variable and individual strategies for learning to happen? And to what extent do I let them happen?

3. To what extent is my attention on what my students say to me and how they say it?

4. To what extent do I allow my trainees to develop "inner criteria" so they will know what is right to do in a class? To what extent am I willing to liberate them into their own independence and to trust them with that freedom?

5. To what extent do I use what the students bring as a beginning for learning? Do I put the bar higher and come down, if necessary, rather than wasting time starting from the bottom up?

This selection is based on teaching done in a presentation at the 1976 TESOL Convention. Charles Blatchford teaches in the Department of English as a Second Language, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822.

6. To what extent am I patient with my students? To what extent do I believe that learning is a matter of time, not of ability?

7. To what extent do I provide my trainees only with what they cannot invent? To what extent do I provide the answers for my trainees?

8. To what extent do I honor and trust my trainees as intelligent human beings?

These are my questions and they are not necessarily appropriate for others. And there are not any right answers. What is important for me is the process of asking questions and facing the answers I give, for I feel that whatever questions are asked, whether intellectual or intuitive or somewhat mystical, do influence the way teaching is done. They reveal the attitudes which affect not only our interactions as teachers and students, but my relationship with my students as human beings.

Let me now recount my reactions to the learning of Russian, an experience which helped me frame these questions I have just listed.

Before I started the Russian sessions, I was somewhat fearful and doubtful of submitting myself to this much-heralded and unconventional approach to language teaching. I wondered whether I would be mesmerized and come under powers not my own (I wasn't and didn't). I wondered whether this would be the "magic" method (there's no magic; only a lot of common sense). Would I be embarrassed as a learner (I wasn't). And would I hate or love the teacher (I rephrased the question later on to ask whether I hated or loved myself).

During and after the language learning sessions, I made the following observations. Perhaps the most significant one for me was that shortly into the first day I found a palpable, dynamic tension in the class which I later contrasted with an absent tenseness. Deep involvement and concentration produced this vibrancy, and the atmosphere was such that there was no anxiety to produce tenseness. The teacher's silence, not so incidentally, allowed me to concentrate.

I felt a great deal of excitement and satisfaction in saying some Russian sentences. (I assume that what I was saying was sentences; I was never told. The fact that I thought they were sentences was significant; that I was never told did not matter.) Likewise, I found myself making hypotheses about the language and testing them. It was I who put the labels on things I happened to know a linguistic name for. The teacher never confirmed nor denied my hypotheses—which I resented at first because he appeared not to reward my efforts at intellectual analysis. What he let me do was to hypothesize in terms understandable to me and allow me to figure out from the accumulating data whether I was right or wrong. This was his way of establishing in me inner criteria which would serve me in good stead in later learning.

There was an inner joy in collaborating with the other learners in giving and receiving help. I had no guilt or sense of cheating in this mutual help. By helping, in Russian or English, we were working on a problem and communicating about its solution. I felt a great deal of support from my classmates in this communicative activity. Under no particular direction to do so, I found myself repeating words, sentences, sounds incessantly. Sometimes I had a guilty feeling for monopolizing class time, but since I knew I learned from my classmates' sentences which they repeated when they knew they were right, I realized that maybe they could learn from me, too. The supportive atmosphere allowed us to correct each other.

The teacher also was supportive and encouraging. It was a relief to know that he did not expect perfection immediately, but he well knew where each of us was in the language and could feed us accordingly. At the beginning I had been somewhat amused by the teacher's seemingly needless instruction to trust him. I immediately found rapport with and confidence in the teacher, but I found I was not fully trusting. This was illustrated to me by my frustration and confusion, for example, in not being able to remember the names of colors or the value of Cyrillic letters. I felt a need to know what I was saying—to understand everything all at once. (This was my need; not the teacher's demand). But very soon, I did come to know and understand. If I had trusted—and surrendered myself to—the teacher, I might have saved myself that frustration.

Although I mentioned satisfaction earlier, I found myself dissatisfied with what I did not have, rather than satisfied with what I did learn. For some reason I was unwilling to accept what I had gotten, and I wanted more. Earl Stevick personally has suggested that if one posits two kinds of satisfaction—one a satisfaction with the intellect or with the mastery of content, and one a satisfaction with the self—this contradiction between satisfaction and dissatisfaction may be explained. My earlier satisfaction was with myself; my dissatisfaction was intellectual.

All in all, while the learning of Russian was work, it was easy, joyful and exhilarating work. At this point, I would like to extend my observations beyond my own experience with learning Russian.

I noticed that some students do not respond to the Silent Way, feeling it does not meet the expectations they are accustomed to. There is no book, for example, by which to measure progress. Some do not like even the idea of the Silent Way, which, through redefinition of the student's role, challenges his felt capacities to learn. He feels helpless in face of the respect the teacher accords him: the student is intelligent and needs not be told so much of what he thought he had to be told. This is discomfiting. A reinterpretation of the teaching role also appears to threaten the teacher's position, although I feel it demands much more of a teacher's whole being. Fresh from these sessions of Russian, I began to be taught Polish by a rapid survey of the whole grammar and a massive amount of dialogue material. The abundance was just too much for me to absorb and comprehend. I was left no room to make my own mistakes and hypothesize my rules; the task set me was simply to sort out and remember, and the mode was intellectual, not practice. I could not do it and I have not learned Polish. The juxtaposition of this method with the Silent Way was an abrupt change. Yet when I told other students about my satisfaction with the Silent Way, they opposed the idea of it. It would have been as abrupt a transition from their ways of learning and the traditional expectation that they need a book and the skill of memorization and that the teacher will tell them the answer. And yet these students were also frustrated and struggling to make sense out of the superabundance of material.

Both while learning Russian and while discussing the teaching of ESL, voices within me scolded the Silent Way for not being "linguistic," in the conception of the mainstream of our profession. The phonemes on the charts were not proper; Gattegno talks unlinguistically about rhythm, melody, sense or feel of the language; there is no scientific control or gradation of material. I now think that these voices were from my intellectual training, not from my being. That the phonemes were mixed with allophones, that he sensed the rhythmic totality of the language, that structures were presented as the students needed them, all made a system that worked beautifully for the teacher, and I learned Russian. There is something to Gattegno's notion and means of getting the learner to accept the language on its own terms and within its own system. There is not only surrender to the teacher, but also surrender to the language. While linguistics may be the intellectual source discipline of language teaching, I saw that its interpretation can be stretched and that there are other personal sources and resources at play in teaching.

I had been troubled by the fact that there is no curriculum in traditional form and there are no instructions about how to proceed with a lesson in a Silent Way class. That there was not and is not and will not be was very frustrating to me who had been trained that lesson plans are the quintessence of a good lesson. Gattegno says that the language is the curriculum, and that if the teacher pays attention to the students, he will give them what they need next. He advises that one rely on the students and not on materials. He says that there are no "should's" in the Silent Way; it is a succession of "right moves." I am not able to tell you what I learned in Russian in terms of vocabulary, of grammatical patterns, of declension, objects and so on, which it turns out are not necessary for my learning Russian, but they are comfortable intellectual trappings which can be measures of progress in some curricula. Right moves are not predictable from class to class.

I liked Gattegno's assumption that students are intelligent and that they have retentive powers. As a student learning Russian, it was a refreshing change to be so honored. As a result, I saw a difference between success and satisfaction. In success, the student pleases the teacher; in satisfaction, the student pleases himself. As teachers, we tend to reward the external manifestations of success, of what the student does to please us; we cannot reward satisfaction, in part because we are not trained to be aware or observant of it, and in part because our educational system does not usually allow us to place a value on it.

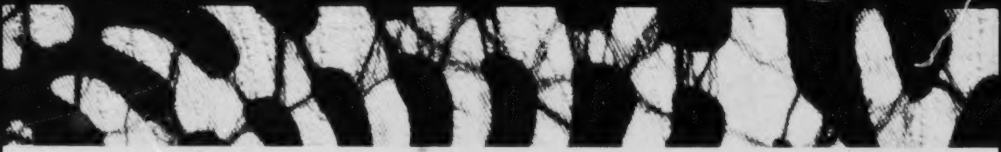
I learned that I am not a careful observer and am very unaware of myself. I wonder, if I am not aware of myself, how much less observant and aware I may be of my students. Gattegno says that even if you have not developed your powers—of intelligence, of retention, of observation—you have them and simply need to discover them. To that end, at the close of each workshop day, Gattegno asked each of us what we had learned. My first response was "I don't know" and I realized that I was embarrassed to tell the teacher either that I had learned something (for fear of being accused of buttering him up, perhaps) or nothing (for fear of hurting his feelings). As I overcame this reticence and made statements, I saw that each statement about what I learned was a statement about me, not the teacher or the Method. This revelation fascinated me. I was not being judged by this teacher, and perhaps this changed learning atmosphere let me see how much of my student energy I have used to protect myself from a teacher or to please a teacher rather than to learn.

The Silent Way is a way of looking at teaching and learning. While its orthodox form includes fidels, wall charts, and rods, its underlying base appears to me to be one of attitudes. A goal is to set students free and to trust them with their freedom, to give students a means of self-expression in language. In the methods class, what is the parallel? From my own experience, when I graduated with my MS, I was beset by doubts about the rightness of what I was doing; I had little self-confidence, self-reliance, or trust in myself. Now, when I get questions from recent graduates asking what they should do in such-and-such a situation, I see that even though our training may be very good, we have succeeded in tying the apron strings and failed in educating the student. It is not they but we who have failed by not inculcating self-reliance or observational ability or inner criteria. It has been said that education is what is left when you have forgotten the facts. In learning Russian, the intellectual linguistic facts never got in my way and what I had was the language; in methods, can we so educate our students that they are left with attitudinal intangibles once the methodological impediments are removed?

References

Gattegno, Caleb. 1970. What we owe children: The subordination of teaching to learning. New York, Avon Books.

————. 1972. Teaching foreign languages in schools the silent way. New York, Educational Solutions, Inc. (80 Fifth Avenue, New York 10011).



A Description and Evaluation of Suggestopedia—A New Teaching Methodology

ROBERT W. BUSHMAN and HAROLD S. MADSEN

With the decline of the comfortable monolithic audio-lingual era of language methodology, many in ESL began to scan the horizon for a new instructional model which might incorporate concepts from cognitive psychology and insights from the Chomskian revolution. Recent interest in Suggestopedia is one manifestation of this search. During this period of transition, John B. Carroll (1971) called for moderation and reconciliation, suggesting that a synthesis of methodologies was possible. While a few such as Karl Diller (1975: 72) disagreed, Albert Marckwardt (1973), speaking for an emerging majority, advocated "a prudent eclecticism."

Initially, symposia, texts, and articles flourished in broad areas such as individualized instruction (Altman 1971; Gougher 1972; Disick 1973) and communicative competence (Savignon 1972; Rivers 1973; Paulston *et al.* 1975). In addition, experts in linguistics and psychology began to recommend that while their disciplines might be of value to language instructors, teachers of ESL and foreign languages should become more self-reliant, basing their practices on what proved successful in the classroom.

For large numbers of ESL teachers this left a methodological void which they had neither the time nor usually the background to fill. Also, assuming eclecticism to be viable, one obviously required methodologies that could be adapted as needed. The time was obviously ripe for a second look at teaching approaches which might be compatible with present concepts of language learning.

One such approach is James J. Asher's Total Physical Response, which boasts rapid language learning through physical rather than verbal responses to commands (Asher 1964, 1974; Madsen 1975). Another initial listening approach is that advanced by Harris Winitz and James Reeds (1973). A different strategy is Alexander Lipson's use of stylized mnemonics (Lipson 1971). A fourth is Eugene J. Hall's situational reinforcement which abandons the careful grammatical sequencing typical of audio-lingual materials (Hall 1967–1973). Earl W. Stevick's micro-wave or Cummings Device (though disclaimed by Stevick as a full-blown methodology) has been placed

---

This selection is based on teaching done in a presentation at the 1976 TESOL Convention. Harold S. Madsen teaches in the Department of Linguistics at Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah 84602. Robert W. Bushman is a student in the same department.

in the hopper of cognitive methodologies (Stevick 1971; Schumann 1972), as has the 1951 total media approach referred to as St. Cloud (Renard and Heinle 1969; Cuyer 1972). Recently publicized methodologies such as Caleb Gattegno's Silent Way and Charles A. Curran's Counseling-Learning depend on significant learner induction (Gattegno 1972; Curran 1972; Stevick 1973 and 1974).

While these methodologies are excellent resources for those who desire to construct an appropriate eclectic ESL course, they are even more useful for the insights they provide in how the teacher might best approach his teaching task. Stevick feels this is particularly true as far as Silent Way and Counseling Learning are concerned.

Underlying Philosophy

It is for the purpose of providing possible new instructional insights that we commend to the TESOL profession the interesting methodology of Suggestopedia developed in Bulgaria. Like the Silent Way and Counseling-Learning, Suggestopedia (or Suggestology) was formulated initially by one outside the language teaching profession—Georgi Lozanov of Sofia, Bulgaria, a psychiatrist whose research thrust has been in the para-psychology of learning. He sees Suggestopedia as applicable to such varied disciplines as medicine, psychiatry, business, and education. Information regarding Suggestology has been reviewed at various international conferences since 1970 in Bulgaria, the U.S.S.R., Canada, Ireland, and the United States. The most significant instructional center in Eastern Europe is the Institute for Scientific Research in Suggestology, in Sofia; the largest operation in the West is that in Ottawa, Canada.

Some popular articles have given the false impression that Suggestopedia induces a trance which enables the learner to absorb thousands of words in just a few hours' time. Because such spurious information has been circulated, it will be profitable to indicate first of all what Suggestology is NOT:

1. It is not hypnosis, nor even a form of hypnosis.
2. It is not sleep teaching, nor a form of sleep teaching.
3. It is not systematized physical relaxation like yoga or transcendental meditation.
4. It is not a system of mnemonics or memorization devices.
5. It is not mystical or religious or a system of mind control.

Part of the rationale for Suggestology is that *suggestion* is commonplace and effective in everyday life: Advertising is replete with suggestion. The placebo in medicine can perform a useful function. In the realm of nonverbal communication, such matters as touch, territoriality and gesture are full of suggestion and meaning. The use of theme, form and tone in the arts conveys information and emotional impact through suggestion.

Much of the problem in learning, say Suggestologists, is the array of negative suggestions, which greatly inhibit us. Society unwittingly imposes barriers: For one thing, we are ignorant of our capacity to learn. Secondly, we fear that which is novel or different. And we also fear our possible incompetence as well as the possibility of making mistakes. It is argued that man has erected at least three protective mechanisms or psychological barriers: barriers to what he considers unethical, barriers to what he feels is irrational, and of direct relevance to this discussion—anti-suggestive emotional barriers "which reject anything likely to produce a feeling of lack of confidence or insecurity" (Public Service Commission . . . 1975: 216).

A consequence of these barriers and inhibitions, says Lozanov, is that man utilizes a mere fraction of his capacity to learn. On the other hand, Lozanov cites amazing feats of calculation and memorization that demonstrate the learner's untapped potential.

It is imperative, say the Suggestologists, to break down anti-suggestive barriers through various components of suggestion. One prominent component is *prestige* or authority. It is felt that a student's reserves can be tapped if his instructional program and teacher enjoy high prestige. Obviously, then, feedback or student evaluation of either teacher or program is considered inappropriate since this intimates that the instruction he is receiving is less than ideal. One corollary of prestige is referred to in the literature as "infantilization." This refers simply to a child-like trust in the system, which is thought to produce a release of the individual from a primarily rational-logical learning set to a less restricted, more intuitive approach, including such activities as role playing (Philipov 1975: 40). A second corollary of prestige is "confidence." This stems in part from the eminence of the program and instructor but also from one's increasing language facility. The resulting confidence is said to reduce anti-suggestion barriers, and to have a calming influence, increase pleasure in learning, and to produce further learner assurance.

A second principle, *dual communication*, includes not only the whole set of overt linguistic instruction but also a carefully orchestrated array of covert communication, largely non-verbal, designed to strengthen the language learner's confidence and inclination to communicate. Impatient gestures, frowns, nervous pacing, sarcastic tones are all taboo; words and actions alike are to be calming, supportive, encouraging.

The *esthetic and the arts* constitute a third basic principle. This includes not only the use of music, which is so universally associated with the method, but also the sensitive presentation of the teacher and close interaction of class members and instructor. This is illustrated in a personal letter from a Soviet lecturer in Moscow who identifies a teacher qualified for teaching Suggestology because of his "good command of . . . voice and artistic abilities which are absolutely necessary . . . because Lozanov [purportedly drew upon] Stanislavsky's method of training artists" (Filatova 1976: 2). The "artistic" presentation ranges from dramatic renditions of the dialog to creative activity among one's students.

Breaking down the anti-suggestive barriers through application of the principles of authority, dual communication, and the arts is said to result in "hypermnesia" or heightened memory as well as uninhibited communicative competence.

Methodology

Our discussion to this point has sketched the theoretical framework of Suggestology. Before describing our experimental research with this method, it remains to outline the application of Suggestology to language teaching as well as the way in which teachers are prepared.

Suggestion begins with the selection of an appropriate setting. Since it is felt that the classroom calls to mind the frustration, failure, and artificiality of many previous learning efforts, Suggestology classes are conducted in a living-room atmosphere with carpeted floors and easy chairs. Such a setting is designed to encourage informal contact and free natural communication. The esthetic element is integrated through judicious use of music, and even elements of art, lecture and theater. A third feature consists of subtle indications that the language to be learned is easy. For example, scores of lines of dialog are introduced every few days (a six-line dialog would suggest that the language was so difficult that it had to be segmented into small manageable chunks). And homework can be minimal—simply a request to read over the lines before retiring and upon arising in the morning—no memorization. In brief, language learning is portrayed as pleasant, natural, and easy. Finally, the orientation is on communication. Content precedes form. Accurate pronunciation and grammar are to come in due course. Students are provided a new name and role on the first day of class. As the course proceeds, they live out a new identity rather than wrestle with a foreign language. As in Counseling-Learning, student initiative is paramount; as in the Silent Way, correction is minimal.

Teacher training begins with the selection of teachers who can bring prestige to the program and confidence to the learners. Teachers cannot be tyrannical or authoritarian. The teacher must be able to enliven the language since there are no tapes, video, filmstrips, slides, or movies. And of course the teacher must be fully sympathetic with the method. Even in an intensive course only one teacher is used because of the special relationship that must exist among all members of the group. The teacher must learn to subdue negative comments and even non-verbal expressions of disapproval. He must be able to keep a certain distance to maintain his aura. Ideally he would know both the native language of the students and the target language. There are parallels in learning through Suggestopedia and Suggestopedic teacher training. Teaching is "easy." One learns a language through Suggestopedia, then observes instruction a couple of times and immediately begins teaching. The teacher continues to observe; at first he is imitative and then he becomes creative. As in Counseling-Learning, positive student reactions strengthen the teacher's confidence. Ideally the new teacher would have a teaching model available for upwards of a year.

Lesson format.—A course is divided into lesson segments of similar format. Each lesson takes six hours of in-class time, and has two parts: presentation of language data via the dialog, and use of that data in communication activities. The dialogue for each lesson is lengthy (10–14 pages!); each student has his own printed copy. These dialogs form the matrix from which the subsequent communication activities are taken, and are developed to unfold the structure of the language according to a simple-to-complex scheme. Dialogs are rambling conversations loosely aggregated around common themes, but which cover a great deal of territory with considerable built-in redundancy.

The dialogs are presented to the students in three phases: explicative reading, intonational reading, and concert. In the explicative reading, the teacher moves through the entire dialog, commenting on the meanings of words, on pronunciation, grammar, or whatever he anticipates may be problematic to the student. This activity approaches the traditional, cognitive mode, but all explanations are deliberally simple and non-technical. Students follow along on their handouts without repeating, though they are free to ask questions if they choose.

The next phase is the intonational reading. The teacher again reads through the entire dialog, this time without comment, but with mood music to begin and end with, and reading with special intonations. There are three intonations which the teacher cycles through: normal, hushed, and strong. After reading a line or phrase with one intonation, and then giving the native language translation in a low, neutral voice, the teacher proceeds to the next line, using the next intonation of the cycle, and so forth. Pauses and variations in rhythm heighten the contrasts of the lines. Students follow along on their handouts, but there is no interaction with the teacher.

The third phase of dialog presentation is the concert. After a short break, the students are invited to put away their dialogs, sit back and enjoy the concert of music that will be played. They may close their eyes, but are not to sleep; they need *not* pay attention to the reading of the dialog that will be presented along with the music. After a few minutes of musical introduction, the entire dialog is read through in expressive form, without translation, but to the accompaniment of scintillating classical music.

A Controlled Experiment

Naturally, the best evaluation of a novel claim is an empirical validation. Therefore, we attempted to replicate a Suggestopedic language class as best we could, and gather objective data. We were also interested in isolating a key feature or variable of the method, namely the music and easy chairs, to determine whether Suggestology might be successfully adapted for use in a standard classroom. Consequently, three treatments were administered: 1) full Suggestopedia, 2) modified Suggestopedia, and 3) control.

Subjects.—Volunteer university students were used for the experiment. Of the original 114 who volunteered to take the "free Finnish mini-course," only 76 were able to be assigned to classes due to their schedule constraints. These constraints further precluded their being randomly assigned to groups and classes, although their assignment was arbitrary. Attrition finally reduced the number of subjects to 41, for an average of 7 in the six classes. To limit the Hawthorne effect, all subjects were told that they were part of an experiment, but were not given any other information as to the research hypotheses, treatment types, or the experimental design.

Treatments.—The full Suggestopedia treatment followed as closely as possible those features of the method as outlined above. The modified Suggestopedic treatment used all instructional features of the full treatment except music, easy chairs, and the living-room environment. Instead, classes of the modified treatment were held in traditional classrooms. The third treatment constituted the control group. This method consisted of utilizing a modified audio-lingual approach. It was designed to approximate contemporary foreign language teaching in a standard classroom environment.

Each treatment group received the same amount of instruction (10 hours) and virtually identical linguistic content. Only the method of treating the content was varied. Furthermore, all treatments were administered for the same length of time. After a pilot study, we organized six classes—two for each treatment. In order to control for teacher effect, two instructors each taught all three treatments. As indicated, Finnish was used as the treatment target language, since it was non-cognate for the subject population, and one about which the subjects were equally naive.

Measurements.—Measurements were made on subjects in five areas: vocabulary, grammar, affect, pronunciation, and communication. An over-all score was also obtained by combining these five, unweighted scores. The vocabulary and grammar measures were each multiple-choice paper-and-pencil tests in which the subject was asked to select the best translation from the options given. Affect was measured with a questionnaire asking subjects to rate their feelings on various topics, on a five-point scale. Pronunciation was measured by having each subject read the same excerpt from a lesson dialog. These readings were tape recorded and then rated by a native speaker of Finnish on a 0–8 scale. As a measure of ability to communicate in Finnish, each subject was individually interviewed using a set of questions that evoked novel open-ended responses. These responses were tape recorded, and also rated by a native speaker of Finnish on a 0–8 scale. The main criterion for the communication rating was the success with which the student was able to convey a message to the rater, rather than skill in such areas as pronunciation or correctness of form.

In addition to the above measures, an open-ended questionnaire was given to all subjects on which they were able to make individual comments about what they specifically did or did not like about the course, plus any other reactions or observations they desired to make.

Findings and Discussion

The findings of this study basically support other Suggestopedic studies elsewhere, but they do not necessarily support the underlying theory. As indicated in the following table, the Suggestopedic subjects did not excel in the areas of pronunciation and grammar, but they were slightly better in vocabulary, and vastly superior in communicative competence. There was, we see, only limited evidence of hypermnesia, which is in line with Canadian findings. This may draw criticism from those initiated Lozanovists who might attribute the lack of hypermnesia to the fact that the teachers in this experiment were not trained and certified under their tutelage. The superiority in communication, however, appears to justify the validity of the methodological procedures used in this study.

The fact that the Suggestopedic subjects tended generally to perform better on the measures of this study than did the control subjects can be taken as an argument in support of the Suggestopedic

Summary of Group Comparisons

Dependent Variable	Treatment*			Significance of Comparisons	
	1	2	3	1 with 2	1 & 2 with 3
Vocabulary	65	72	51	NSD	$p < .025$
Grammar	57	58	55	NSD	NSD
Affect	62	65	57	NSD	NSD
Pronunciation	58	56	59	NSD	NSD
Communication	66	67	38	NSD	$p < .001$
Overall	61	65	53	NSD	$p < .05$

* Estimated treatment group means standardized as percentages for: (1) Full Suggestopedia; (2) Modified Suggestopedia; (3) Control.

theory. But the following findings may be interpreted as not supporting the theory:

(1) There was no significant difference between the performance of the full Suggestopedia group and that Suggestopedia group without music and easy chairs. At least, no evidence was found that these accountrements are essential to the Suggestopedic process. This suggests that the method can work successfully in the traditional classroom setting.

(2) There was no significant difference in measured affect between the Suggestopedic and control groups. Even anecdotally, control group subjects appeared to be equally pleased with their treatment. (This finding suggests that teacher bias was not a factor.)

(3) There was no systematic variation in student performance as indicated on a measure of suggestibility. Reliant on the channel of suggestion for instruction, Lozanov's theory would seem to predict greater success for those Suggestopedic subjects who were more suggestible.

(4) The fact that the Suggestopedic groups did better on the communication measure may be explained by the fact that they spent much more time in communication activity.

As a sidelight, it is interesting to note that the control group did not do better than the Suggestopedic groups in pronunciation and grammar, as might have been predicted, despite the extensive and intensive repetition and pattern practice drills of the former group. This finding, then, does not support the approach which calls for constant modeling and phonation.

In its present state of development, the methodology does have certain limitations. The foremost restriction for TESL is that the system has been primarily developed for a monolingual setting. Alternative forms are yet to be explored for the linguistically heterogeneous class. There are indications that the system may not work as well with some types of students as with others; and it most certainly requires teachers with the right temperament and philosophical persuasions.[2] Such limitations are of course not restricted to students and teachers of Suggestology, but apply as well to other approaches.

One common criticism of Suggestopedic students is that their speech is grammatically and phonologically somewhat inaccurate. This deficiency is counterbalanced by the fact that Suggestopedic students typically are inclined toward spontaneous communication. In addition to this lack of accuracy cited by critics of the method, it is also pointed out that Suggestology does not move the student to advanced levels of linguistic sophistication.

As an overall assessment, while final judgment of the Suggestopedic method should be reserved, there are certainly many features of the methodology which appear to be advances in language instructional art. Firstly, the approach is focused squarely and most properly on the behavioral goal of communication, and is not distracted from this goal by the discrete-point skills suggested by some linguistic analyses. Confusing the structure or taxonomy of a discipline with the structure of its instruction has long been a major pitfall in education, language teaching not excepted. It is refreshing, then, that Lozanov helps us move our sights to the target, but curious that it apparently takes an outsider to do so.

Also of great interest and merit in the methodology is the technique for coping with language errors. The permissive atmosphere created by acceptance of all student performances, and withholding corrections for those occasions when they will assist rather than inhibit, can only have a salutory effect on students struggling for the freedom to test out hypotheses without risking self-esteem or peer approval. That one's language is a very personal expression of himself, makes this element of risk a very real and crucial one.

In sum, Suggestopedia deserves our attention because from the outset it frees the student to communicate with confidence. Experimentation with a modified format encourages the hope that the method is vital and flexible enough for use in standard classrooms. The use of suggestion holds promise as a viable ingredient in ESL classes, and may not require the elaborated trappings of the classical model.

References*

Altman, Howard B. and Robert L. Politzer, eds. 1971. *Individualizing foreign language instruction*. Rowley, Massachusetts, Newbury House Publishers.

Asher, Jame J. 1964. Toward a neo-field theory of behavior, *Journal of Humanitic Pychology, 4*, 85–94.

Asher, James J. *et al.* 1974. Learning a second language through commands: the second field test, *The Modern Language Journal, 58*, 24–32.

---

[2] One such teacher with appropriate temperament and excellent teaching skill is Dr. Robert W. Blair who generously instructed three of the treatment groups discussed in this study.

Bushman, Robert W. 1976. Effects of a full- and modified suggestopedic treatment in foreign language learning. Unpublished M.A. thesis. Provo, Utah, Brigham Young University.

Carroll, John B. 1971. Current issues in psycholinguistics and second language teaching, *TESOL Quarterly*, *5*, 2, 101–114.

Curran, Charles A. 1972. *Counseling-learning: a whole-person model for education.* New York, Grune and Stratton.

Cuyer, Andre. 1972. The Saint Cloud method: what it can and cannot achieve, *English Language Teaching*, 27, 19–24.

Dampier, Bill. 1975. French without tears: a soft chair, a little Bach and viola, *Maclean's*, Canada's Newsmagazine, 88, 82.

Diller, Karl C. 1975. Some new trends for applied linguistics and foreign language teaching in the United States, *TESOL Quarterly*, *9*, 1, 65–73.

Disick, Renee S. 1973. Individualized instruction: promises versus reality, *The Modern Language Journal*, *57*, 248–250.

Filatova, Elizaveta S. 1975–1976. Interview and correspondence on Suggestology. Los Angeles and Moscow.

Foreign language intensive method studies: reports from the scientific conference. 1974. Moscow, Moscow State Pedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages (in the name of Marice Torez). (Russian)

Gattegno, Caleb. 1972. *Teaching foreign language in schools the silent way.* New York, Educational Solutions.

Gougher, Ronald L., ed. 1972. *Individualization of instruction in foreign languages.* Philadelphia, The Center for Curriculum Development, Inc.

Hall, Eugene J. 1967–1973. *Situational reinforcement: orientation in American English* (series and teacher's manual). Washington, D.C., Institute of Modern Languages, Inc.

Lipson, Alexander. 1971. Some new strategies for teaching oral skills. *Toward a cognitive approach to second language acquisition.* Robert C. Lugton, ed.; Language and the teacher: a series in applied linguistics, 8. Philadelphia, The Center for Curriculum Development, Inc.

Lozanov, Georgi. 1973. *Suggestology.* Sofia, Bulgaria, Nauka I Izkistvo. (Bulgarian) (Translated publication pending: *Suggestology and Suggestopedia.* New York, Gordon & Breach Science Publishers, Inc.; ISBN 0-677-07170-0; One Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016.)

Madsen, Harold S. 1975. Innovative methodologies applicable to TESL, *An introduction to the teaching of English as a second language,* Marianne Celce-Murcia, ed. Los Angeles, University of California, 46–66.

Marckwardt, Albert H. 1973. The future of English language teaching. An address on May 4, 1973 at the annual NAFSA Convention in Detroit, Michigan.

Nikitina, Elvira G. 1975. Interview on Suggestology. Los Angeles.

Ostrander, Sheila and Lynn Schroeder. 1970. *Psychic discoveries behind the iron curtain.* New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Paulston, Christina Bratt *et al.* 1975. *Developing communicative competence: roleplays in English as a second language.* Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh.

Philipov, Elizabeth Risova. 1975. Suggestology: the use of suggestion in learning and

---

* Unquestionably the single most exhaustive and reliable source below is the Canadian publication—*A teaching experience with the suggestopaedic method.* The Philipov dissertation is valuable for philosophical insights, as is Lozanov's *Suggestology;* the Bushman thesis for isolating and evaluating instructional variables. The Suggestology information letter and Suggestology bulletin provide readers with current developments in the method.

hypermnesia. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. San Diego, United States International University. (Available through Xerox University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106)

Public Service Commission of Canada, Staff Development Branch, Studies Division, Suggestopaedia Programme. 1975. *A teaching experience with the Suggestopaedic Method.* Ottawa, Information Canada. (Catalogue No. SC82-6/1975)

Racle, Gabriel, *et al.* 1976. Personal interviews on Suggestology. Ottawa (at Suggestopedia Programme, Public Service Commission of Canada, Staff Development Branch, Studies Division).

Renard, Collette and Charles H. Heinle. 1969. *Implementing voix et images de France.* Philadelphia: Chilton Books.

Rivers, Wilga M. 1973. From linguistic competence to communicative competence, *TESOL Quarterly, 7,* 1, 25-34.

Savignon, Sandra J. 1972. *Communicative competence: an experiment in foreign-language teaching.* Philadelphia, The Center for Curriculum Development, Inc.

Schumann, John. 1972. Communication techniques, *TESOL Quarterly, 6,* 143-161.

Stevick, Earl W. 1971. *Adapting and writing language lessons.* Washington, D.C., Foreign Service Institute—Department of State.

Stevick, Earl W. 1973. Review article: Curran, *Language Learning, 23,* 259-271.

Stevick, Earl W. 1974. Review article: Gattegno, *TESOL Quarterly, 8,* 305-314.

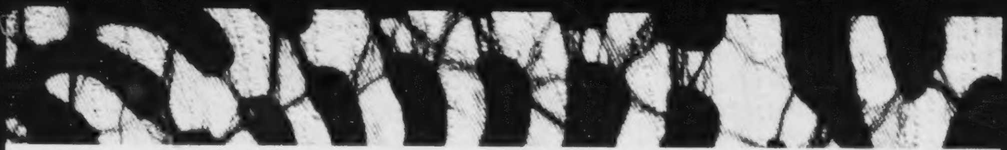
Suggestology and Suggestopaedia. 1975. Bulletin of the Suggestology Research Institute under the Ministry of People's Education. *1,* 1-55.

Suggestopaedia-Canada, Information Letter. 1975. *1,* 1-6. (Gabriel Racle, Director: Suggestopaedia-Canada, Aselford-Martin Building—Room 420, 1725 Woodward Drive, Ottawa, Ontario, K1A 0M7, Canada)

Turkevich, Ludmilla B. 1972. Suggestology, *Russian Language Journal, 26,* 83-84.

Winitz, Harris and James Reeds. 1973. Rapid acquisition of a foreign language (German) by the avoidance of speaking, *International Review of Applied Linguistics, 10,* 295-317.

Wolkowski, Zbigniew William. n.d. *Suggestology: a major contribution by Bulgarian scientists.* Christopher Bird, translator. Monograph 10. Washngton, D.C., Mankind Research Foundation. (Publications available: 1640 Kalmia Road, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20012) [Unevaluated source]



Teachers' and Students' Preferences for Correction of Classroom Conversation Errors

RUTH L. CATHCART and JUDY E. W. B. OLSEN

Recently, much has been written concerning the influence of adult students' language learning strategies upon their classroom errors (Taylor 1975; Bailey, Madden & Krashen 1975). Studies have also been made of teachers' actual methods, or lack of them, in correcting students' conversation errors (Fanselow 1974; Allwright 1975).

The ultimate goal of research on error corrections in language learning is to find which correction methods do actually facilitate learning. But, since human attitudes and behavior are obviously present in learning and teaching, we believe it is important to ascertain what students and teachers assume to be the most effective methods for correcting errors. What teachers and students think is helpful may not turn out to be so, but on the other hand, bias and attitude may prove to have a strong influence on effectiveness of corrections.

There are four basic parts to this study:

1. a discussion of questionnaires on error correction, completed by students in two community college centers and a university in San Francisco;
2. a discussion of what error corrections occurred in tapes of actual classroom interaction at these, and other San Francisco centers;
3. a) a review of error-correction questionnaires, filled out by the same teachers who were taped, and comparison of the tapes to the answers on the questionnaires;
   b) a discussion of an additional group of teachers' questionnaires, used to obtain a larger sample of teacher preference for error corrections, and comparison of teacher and student preferences;
4. suggestions for further research in this area and general comments on error correction study.

1. Student Questionnaires

METHOD

Questionnaires on preference for amount and type of corrections of oral errors were administered to a total of 188 students in nine

---

This selection is based on teaching done in a presentation at the 1976 TESOL Convention. Ruth L. Cathcart and Judy E. Winn-Bell Olsen teach at the Alemany Community College Center, San Francisco, California 94109. The authors wish to thank the teachers of Chinatown Resources Development Center, Cumberland-Chinatown Center, John Adams Community College Center, Alemany Community College Center, and the University of San Francisco for their cooperation with taping, administration of the student questionnaires, and for their many helpful comments on the teacher questionnaire. Special thanks to Wayne Wang of CRDC for his aid in the bilingual administration of the questionnaire to a beginning class.

ESL classes at two community college centers and a university.

The following questionnaire was administered by the investigators using a tape recording of a teacher and student performing grammar corrections in question 5 and pronunciation corrections in question 7.

Student Questionnaire

(Students indicate class level, nationality, age, sex, years of school, not ESL)

1. Do you want your teachers to correct your mistakes? yes/no
2. If you said yes in #1, how often do you want your teacher to correct your oral mistakes?
   all the time/most of the time/not very often
   /never
3. What kinds of mistakes are most important to correct? (put 1 for most important, 2 for second most important, etc.)
   pronunciation/grammar/word order
   /vocabulary
4. What mistakes do your teachers correct most? (number 1-4)
   pronunciation/grammar/word order
   /vocabulary

5. Look at the grammar corrections below. Rate them as very good, good, not very good or bad.
Example: Teacher says: "Where did you go yesterday?"
Student says: "I go to the bank."

Corrections:		very good	good	not very good	bad
a. "Don't say go; say went."	a				
b. "I went to the bank."	b				
c. "Yesterday, I ... ."	c				
d. "Go is in the present tense. You need past tense here."	d				
e. "What's the second word?"	e				
f. "Students?" (class gives answer)	f				
g. "Mmmmmmm" (disapproval)	g				
h. "Please repeat the sentence."	h				
i. "What?"	i				
j. "Again. Where did you go?"	j				
k. "Really? Did you make a deposit?"	k				
l. "When you went to the bank, what did you do?"	l				

6. Look at the corrections in #5. Which corrections do your teachers use most when students make a grammar mistake? (Name 3 or 4)
7. Look at the pronunciation corrections below. Rate them as very good, good, not very good or bad.

Example: Teacher says: "What do you do every morning?"
Student says: "I stoody English."

Corrections:		very good	good	not very good	bad
a. "Don't say stoody, say study."	a				
b. "I study English."	b				
c. "Every morning I. . . ."	c				
d. "We don't want a long "u" sound in that word. We need the sound "uh," like a schwa, but stressed.	d				
e. "What's the second word?"	e				
f. "Students?" (class gives answer)	f				
g. "Mmmmmmmm" (teacher makes disapproving sound).	g				
h. "Please repeat the sentence."	h				
i. "What?"	i				
j. "What do you do every morning?"	j				
k. "Really? For how long?" (Teacher does not correct the mistake.)	k				
l. "Really? How long do you study then?"	l				

8. Which corrections do your teachers use most? (name 3 or 4)
9. If a student makes 2 mistakes in one sentence, what should the teacher do?

Responses to each question were tallied according to class level, and total preferences for each question were computed. Comparison was made between all students' preferences and each class level's preferences to see if the degree of comptence in ESL influenced preference for correction of errors. Responses from the downtown community college center were compared with those from the Chinatown center and the university class.

Questionnaires from the downtown center were then reorganized by nationality of students to ascertain whether preferences differed according to language or cultural background. For each tabulation of correction-preference in questions 5 and 7, "very good" and "good" categories were combined to a "good" category and "not very good" and "bad" categories were combined to make a "poor" category. The most liked and least liked types of corrections were ranked for all the students and for each of the separate groups. Ranking was done according to how many students in a group gave a good rating (or bad rating) to a correction type.

Results and Discussion

1. All students agreed that they wished to be corrected when they made oral errors.

2. A majority of students (111) said they wished to be corrected all the time; 25 said they wished to be corrected most of the time. There were a total of 149 responses to this question.

3. Students thought pronunciation and grammar errors were the most important to correct, with pronunciation slightly more important than grammar. All levels agreed on this.

4. A large majority of students said teachers in fact correct grammar and pronunciation more than vocabulary and word order (as the students prefer). However, by a slight majority, students felt that teachers correct more grammar than pronunciation. Comparing this with 3, one might speculate that the students would like teachers to correct a little more pronunciation. Many of the students who expressed this preference were in the upper levels of the downtown center.

5a. The five types of grammar corrections preferred by the most students were, in order of preference:

b. "I went to the bank." (correct model) (146)
a. "Don't say go, say went." (comparison of error and model.) (141)

d. "Go is the present tense; you need the past tense here." (grammar explanation) (128)
j. "Again. Where did you go?" (repetition of cue) (111)
c. "Yesterday, I . . ." (partial model, pinpointing area of error) (100)

When different class levels were compared to total student responses, preferences took approximately the same order.

5b. Corrections least liked by all the students were, in order of dislike:

k. "Really? Did you make a deposit or withdrawal?" (no correction) (143)
g. "Mmmmm" (disapproval) (119)
e. "What's the second word?" (105)
i. "What?" (103)
l. "When you went to the bank, what did you do?" (Correct model, with request for more information) (98)

When different class levels were compared to total students' responses, "dislikes" took approximately the same order.

6. Students said their teachers used the following four corrections the most:

d. "Go is in the present tense. You need past tense." (57)
a. "Don't say go; say went." (43)
c. "Yesterday, I . . ." (40)
b. "I went to the bank." (36)

These follow the general order of student preference, so it might be said that students feel that teachers are often using useful types of corrections.

7a. The types of corrections preferred for a pronunciation error were as follows, in order of preference:
b. "I study English." (138)
a. "Don't say stoody; say study. (134)
d. "We don't want a long "u" sound; We need the sound "uh," like a schwa, but stressed. (92)
h. "Please repeat the sentence." (77)

These were basically the same as the corrections preferred for a grammar error.

7b. Corrections least liked by all students were, in order of dislike:

g. "Mmmmm" (142)
k. "Really? For how long?" (138)

i. "What?" (125)
l. "Really? How long do you study then?" (138)

This order followed basically the same pattern as for the grammar except that students did not feel (c) "Every morning, I . . ." was useful in correcting pronunciation whereas it was for correcting grammar. There was general agreement across levels on the types of corrections disliked.

8. The students felt their teachers used corrections of a pronunciation error in the following order of frequency:

a. "Don't say stoody; say study." (73)
b. "I study Englīsh." (66)
d. "We don't want a long "u" sound in that word, etc (60)
c. "Every morning, I . . ." (32)
h. "Please repeat the sentence." (27)

Again, the students felt their teachers basically used the type of corrections they liked except for (c), which a slight majority of students did not like.

9. All of the students felt that if both a grammar error and a pronunciation error occurred in one utterance, the teacher should correct both.

Comparison of Data by Nationality

Questionnaires from the downtown center were divided according to language or cultural background and answers to question 5 (types of corrections preferred for a grammar error) were tabulated.

Each cultural group agreed with the total group on almost all preferences and dislikes, with the following exceptions:

1. "Don't say go; say went" (a) was ranked among the three most liked corrections for all nationalities except Latin Americans and Japanese.

2. More Chinese disliked "Please repeat the sentence" (h) than liked it.

It must be noted that the small sizes of several of the cultural groups made it impossible to make any meaningful observations about them. It would be interesting, however, to carry this study further with larger samplings of these cultural groups. One could test the suggestions that: a. There are few, if any differences across cultural groups. b. Latins (and, possibly, Japanese) like negative-sounding corrections less than other nationalities. c. Chinese prefer more specific corrections than other students.

2. Teacher Tapes and Questionnaires

METHOD

A total of 21 teachers at three community college centers and a university agreed to tape record a class session. Teachers were asked to record a session in which they would be interacting with individual students, such as in a drill or question and answer period. In spite of this constraint, many tapes were almost devoid of corrections, in fact, almost devoid of utterances by individual students. This is probably due to the teachers' misunderstanding of the task indicated by the investigators. On the other hand, it may be that some teachers' teaching style precludes errors by avoiding individual student responses.

The corrections found on the 21 tapes were transcribed and classified into the 12 types of corrections listed in question 5 in the questionnaire. Sixteen of the teachers answered a questionnaire very similar to that given the students. The teachers' opinions on paper were compared with their behavior on tape.

Results and Discussion

It was found that teachers were reasonably accurate in naming the kinds of corrections they used in the classroom and the kinds they did not use. The only notable exceptions were that six teachers who said they never used type (a) "Don't say go; say went" did, in fact, use it. Two teachers who said they never used the correction (b) "I went to the bank" did use it, and two teachers used both grammar explanation (d) and request for repetition (i) "What?," while claiming that they never did.

Since, in many classes, there were not a large number of corrections recorded, and since many teachers marked several corrections as used "sometimes," a more detailed and specific comparison of teachers' behavior was not possible.

Of a total of 132 instances of corrections on tape, those most often used by the 21 teachers were:

b. "I went to the bank." (41)
c. "Yesterday, I . . ." (17)
m. "Go?" (not listed on questionnaire) (17)
d. "Go is the present; you need past" (16)
a. "Don't say go; say went" (16)
f. "Students?" (10)

Corrections least often used were:

l. "When you went to the bank, what did you do?" (0)
e. "What's the second word?" (4)

h. "Please repeat the sentence." (5)
g. "Mmmmmm" or "No" (6)
i. "What?" (7)

While it is clear that some correction types are used more generally, the wide variety of corrections shows a great diversity of individal teaching styles. Several teachers also used combinations of the 12 kinds of corrections and some teachers added that gestures and facial expressions are an integral part of their correction style.

3. Teachers' and Students' Questionnaires

METHOD

In addition to the 16 teachers taped and questioned, 22 other teachers at a total of four community college centers and the university filled out questionnaires, totaling 38 teachers who answered questionnaires for comparison with the student questionnaires. It should be noted that students questioned did not include all students in these teachers' classes. Therefore, the study does not purport to compare students and teachers in the same classes. Rather, it is a general comparison of 38 ESL teachers and 188 students.

The teachers' questionnaires differed from those of the students in three basic ways:

1. Teachers did not hear the corrections on tape, but simply read them on the questionnaire.
2. Teachers told whether they used each correction often, sometimes or never. Students named three or four most-used corrections and the same number of least-used ones.
3. Teachers were asked for further comments on the general subject of error correction.

Results and Discussion

The teachers preferred the following grammar corrections:

c. "Yesterday, I . . ." (26)
l. "When you went to the bank, what did you do? (15)
b. "I went to the bank."(13)

Teachers most disliked the following:

e. "What's the second word?" (24)
a. "Don't say go; say went." (20)
k. (no correction) (17)

The main differences between teachers' and students' grammar correction preferences were:

1. Teachers felt that (1) "When you went to the bank, What did you do?" was useful; students did not. Teachers did not use this

correction on the tapes, nor were students aware of their having used it in class.

2. Students liked (j) "Please repeat"; teachers did not.

3. Students liked (a) "Don't say go; say went"; teachers did not like it. However 10 teachers did use it at least once on the tape.

Many teachers also noted that they correct oral grammar errors "most of the time" in drills and "not very often" in conversation, while students stated that they wanted to be corrected "all the time." An interesting informal experiment was conducted by one of the teachers following the questionnaire. She told her students she would correct all their errors in a discussion, and proceeded to do so. Afterwards, the students agreed that it was impossible to think coherently or produce more than fragmented sentences when they were interrupted constantly.

In question 7 (corrections for a pronunciation error), students' preferences followed much the same order as for grammar errors. Teachers, however, made choices for pronunciation corrections somewhat different from their choices for grammar corrections. Most preferred:

b. "I study English." (21) (compare to c,l,b, for grammar)
l. "Really how long did you study then?" (13)
e. "What's the second word?" (9)

Most disliked

k. no correction (11) (compare to e,a,k for grammar)
g. "Mmmmmm" (8)
a. "Don't say stoody; say study." (7)
j. "What do you do every morning?" (7)

It seems that these teachers do not feel a pronunciation error merits making the student or other students figure out the answer, while a grammar error does. More often, they feel a correct model should be given, perhaps while proceding to other matters.

Given the example of a double student error in one sentence, "She don't ever stoody," 20 teachers said they would emphasize or correct only the grammar, six would correct the pronunciation and two would not correct in this instance, because the utterance is understandable. This is in contrast to unanimous student preference for correction of both errors.

On this question as well as in general comments, several teachers at different centers mentioned that the error corrected and the type of correction would depend on the level of the class, what points had previously been taught, and the personality of the student being corrected. Four of the teachers indicated that they would work mainly on pronunciation in a case of this kind because the pronunciation error was more likely to interfere with the hearer's comprehension of the sentence. One teacher suggested praise instead of corrections as an intentional strategy.

4. Further Research

A study of this kind certainly raises more questions than it answers. The many variables of teacher "affect" cannot easily be quantified. But it is a beginning, and the reactions of teachers and students to the questionnaires have indicated an interest in exploring these matters further. A few possibilities are:

1. A refinement of the questionnaire by addition of other corrections and more specification of different types of classroom interactions where teachers might or might not choose to use the corrections (such as drills, learning dialogues, short conversational interchanges, involved classroom discussion).
2. More delineation of different ESL levels within the questionnaire.
3. More attention to possible ethnic preferences for different kinds of corrections, by sampling larger numbers of some groups, and eliciting opinions from teachers who are members of those groups. Example: In the teacher questionnaire, a Chinese-American teacher commented that her students would "lose face" if corrected by the class, but that correction from a friend (elicited by the teacher) was acceptable.
4. A refinement of technique in prompting student opinion on how and when to correct—perhaps with videotapes of teachers correcting often, sometimes, and never in drills and conversations with students.
5. An exploration of the question, "At what levels of proficiency should the teacher focus on error correction?" One teacher indicated on the questionnaire that beginning students should be given a minimum of correction, so as not to discourage them from trying to use the language. Another teacher felt just as strongly that error correction should begin early, while utterances are short and before bad habits are ingrained. This teacher pointed out that advanced classes have a greater range of material to cover, and consequently have less time to work on correction than do beginning classes.

These are some of the questions raised by teacher and student responses to the questionnaire. In addition, informal rap sessions were held with several of the teachers who participated in the study, in which they were asked to elaborate on any of their answers and suggest which issues raised by the study would be the most interesting to pursue. These topics were of special interest:

1. Is praise more effective in reinforcing learning than correction of errors?

2. How much difference would there be in student attitudes if they were presented the same correction several times, accompanied by different facial expressions and gestures?

3. How much are other students influenced by a correction made for one student?

4. Is one type of correction really any better than another, or does the students' learning depend much more on the general atmosphere of the class and the teacher's consistency within his or her own style?

5. How important *is* a teacher's consistency in error correction?

Summary

One step towards arriving at effective correction techniques is an examination and comparison of students' attitudes, teachers' attitudes, and teachers' behavior. This study analyzed results of questionnaires on corrections administered to 188 students at three community college centers and a university, similar questionnaires administered to 38 teachers at four centers and the university, and tape recordings of 21 of the teachers' classes.

In comparing the teachers' correction behavior and opinions, it was found that most of the teachers were able to state most of the corrections they used. However, several teachers stated that they never used some correction types which in fact appeared on their tapes—particularly, "Don't say go; say went."

A comparison of teacher and student questionnaires showed that, as was expected, students wish to be corrected more than teachers feel they should be. Also, although students were basically happy with the kinds of corrections teachers make, some students, particularly at more advanced levels, would like more work on pronunciation.

There was general agreement between students and teachers regarding the values of various correction types. The main difference was that, for a grammar error, students liked a model of incorrect-correct ("Don't say go; say went,") better than did teachers, and teachers liked a correction which marked the place of error ("Yesterday, I . . .") better than did the students. For a pronunciation error, both groups preferred a time-saving, simple model of the correct form ("I study.") There were not shown to be basic differences in preference for error correction between students at different class levels, nor were there many differences among nationalities.

This study was valuable as a consciousness-raising tool. Teachers and students who participated became more interested in the subject of error correction, and in so doing, took the first step towards understanding and improving correction techniques.

References

Allwright, Richard. 1975. Problems in the study of teachers' treatment of learner error. In M. Burt and H. Dulay (eds.), *New directions in second language learning, teaching, and bilingual education: On TESOL '75.* Washington, D.C., TESOL, 96–109.

Bailey, Nathalie, Carolyn Madden and Stephen D. Krashen. 1975. Theoretical aspects of grammatical sequencing. In M. Burt and H. Dulay (eds.), *New directions in second language learning, teaching, and bilingual education: On TESOL '75.* Washington, D.C., TESOL, 44–54.

Fanselow, John F. 1974. The treatment of error in oral work. Presentation at the Eighth Annual TESOL Convention, Denver.

Taylor, Barry P. 1975. The use of overgeneralization and transfer learning strategies by elementary and intermediate university students learning ESL. In M. Burt and H. Dulay (eds.), *New directions in second language learning, teaching, and bilingual education: On TESOL '75.* Washington, D.C., TESOL, 55–69.

Teacher Training: A Counseling Focus

GRETCHEN DOWLING and KEN SHEPPARD

The purpose of this presentation is to propose and describe the incorporation of a counseling modality into the teacher-training process. It takes as its primary source the work of Dr. Charles A. Curran who, drawing on the work of Carl Rogers and others, has provided the most thorough application of counseling techniques to the issues of language teaching. He has, in the process, developed the counseling modality as more than a "technique," preferring to call it a "process" typifying a kind of inter-personal interaction with implications running far beyond teaching.

This paper does not propose to instruct the reader in classroom counseling, nor in training Community Language Learning teachers. Rather, we are dealing here with ways that the counseling modality might form the basis of trainer-trainee interaction regardless of subject matter, particularly at two junctures of the training process. These are (1) the initial determination of goals for the training process, which we'll allude to only briefly; and (2) the post-practice teaching 'critiquing' session between trainer (T_r) and trainee (T_e), which we view as the most important nexus in the on-going trainer-trainee relationship.

In our view, the teacher-training process is a highly threatening one for both participants. The T_e is afraid that his attempts at teaching will not meet with approval. The T_r, for his part, is afraid that what he has to teach will be misunderstood, rejected, or found inadequate. This stems, in part, from the relativism of teaching strategies in the post-audio-lingual age we now find ourselves in. When a T_r is confronted with a number of competing and tangential strategies, he is likely to feel at least a little unsure of what he is about. Unless both participants in the teacher-training process are very care-

---

This selection is based on teaching done in a presentation at the 1976 TESOL Convention. Gretchen Dowling coordinates the P.A.C.E. Adult Learning Center, Paterson, New Jersey 07505; she also teaches in the center; Kenneth Sheppard teaches at the English Language Center, LaGuardia Community College, Long Island City, New York 11101. The authors are not psychologists but teacher trainers. They do not claim to be offering here the final word on Counseling as it relates to the training of language teachers. They are, rather, suggesting an area which might profitably be mined by others. They are indebted to Dr. Curran and his staff, particularly Dr. Jennybelle Rardin who was good enough to review this material. The authors assume full responsibility, of course, for persistent error. Anyone interested in going further should contact Counseling-Learning Institutes, P.O. Box 3867, Apple River, Illinois 61001. The authors have no official connection with Counseling-Learning Institutes.

ful, their behavior frequently leads to learning/teaching strategies that reinforce their mutual fears and stall the process.

Let's take a look at why this process is potentially a threatening one for the T_e as well as the T_r. There are at least three reasons:

In the first place, this anxiety stems from the way education takes place today. There is an assumption in much that we do in the classroom that 'I don't know' is equivalent to 'I am wrong' or 'I am bad.' Consequently, the ambitious student makes defensive moves to mask his fear of making an error. Philip W. Jackson comments on this in his study of classroom behavior: "Learning how to make it in school involves, in part, learning how to falsify our behavior." (Jackson 1968: 27)

It is inevitable that the T_e will make mistakes. So far from being regrettable, this is actually crucial to any learning process. In teacher training, the T_e must *feel* the reasons for doing whatever he does. He must be able to act as a whole person in the classroom—actively aware of the rationale for teaching/learning interaction. It is a sad fact, however, that the T_e is often made to feel invalid if he cannot attest constantly that he knows the answer: that he is right. Unless the T_e is free to risk himself in the commission of error, he will not develop a teaching personality which has integrity, which is integrated with his extra-scholastic self.

Secondly, the teacher-training process, though educational in nature, flows directly into work. Whether the T_e is being trained on the job or in a university course, he knows his T_r has incalculable economic power over him. If he fails to meet the T_r's criteria of behavior, which frequently form a hidden agenda in the process, he may be denied employment or at least pigeon-holed as to employability. On the other hand, the T_r's reputation and income also depend on the T_e's performance, since whatever he does reflects on the T_r's competence. In our experience, therefore, a kind of mutual defensiveness frequently arises which, while it may not totally block the process to be undertaken, impedes it in ways inappropriate to an experience whose goal is independent behavior. We see Curran's humanistic model as a way of freeing both participants to engage fully, to *invest* themselves in the process.

Thirdly, as we've already mentioned, the teacher training process is a form of teaching/learning behavior which asks the participants to risk themselves profoundly. The T_e, in particular, is being asked to *behave* in public and be evaluated. This is normally quite threatening for anyone, even a performer accustomed to the Scylla and Charybdis of audience and critic. It is certainly threatening to someone previously accustomed, as most T_es are, to the comparatively passive role of student. If, as has been mentioned, this active role is also tied to employment, the process becomes a double-barreled threat frequently causing feelings of inadequacy which must be masked by defensive tactics. Again, the problem is to free the T_e so he can give his whole person to the process at hand.

Having now dealt in some detail with this matter of the anxiety that runs throughout the training process like a low-grade fever, we have also got to take a look at what the T_e brings to the process in the cognitive domain. Trainees are not, as we may have mistakenly suggested, simply quivering nerve impulses looking for a synapse. They are also fully *cognizant* human beings who bring, almost without exception, some expertise to the process of training. We take it as a priority of training that the T_r must somehow discover what skills the T_e has ready mastered, as these are the basis of the training. We see Curran's model as being, not only the means of anxiety-reduction in the T_r, and T_e, but also the way that the channels of communication between them can be opened and cleaned out. These can then become conduits of information about the T_e, his pre-dispositions about the process, his knowledge of language transfer, of classroom interaction, etc. This, then, is a by-product of the reduction or elimination of behavior-limiting anxieties.

It is an assumption of this presentation that anxiety must be accepted and lowered if real learning/teaching is to take place. In Curran's terms, the "learning becomes self-defeating when the learner projects the suffering and anxiety of learning onto any convenient object. Usually that object is someone who is sincerely trying to do a certain thing but, in fact, is seen as an attacking figure. . . ." (Curran 1972: 128)

Again in Curran's terms, ". . . the student's state of self-worth seems to determine the degree to which he can learn. . . . openly and without defense . . . /and see/ learning not as something attacking him and from which he must defend himself with a good, or at least a passing grade, but as something positively invoking his genuine self-investment and permanent self-indentification." (Curran 1975: 2)

The question then becomes how to "invoke his genuine self-investment" in the process. What we propose is that the counseling processes devised and described at length by Curran become the model of T_r-T_e interaction in the training process. To simplify a complex matter, these processes hinge on the concept of the "under standing response." That is, the T_r, if he is to enable learning, must learn to make responses that clearly apprehend what the T_e is going through. He must temporarily suspend his judgment of the T_e's behavior, verbal or otherwise, and demonstrate, by *recapitulating* what the T_e has said, that he has "entered his world" and shares the experience.

It is important to note here that we are not talking about a *technique* for handling, manipulating, or solving the personal problems of the T_e. We are talking about a form of interpersonal interaction such as all of us sometimes engage in, though rarely with the intensity we propose here. It is, in fact, a life process.

A "counselor" or T_r must, in Curran's words, ". . . control his urge to place judgmental and diagnostic labels on what he is hearing from the client (T_e). Otherwise he will begin to write some type of problem-solving prescription. We know that this is the surest way for the client not only to feel deeply misunderstood but also to be made hostile and defensive. He can become so resistant that he withdraws genuine openness and trust in the communication with the counselor (T_r). Such intellectual departmentalizing and categorizing of what the client is saying and turning it into an 'ought-to' voice of conscience, . . . thwarts the self-engagement and commitment of both counselor and client." (Curran 1972: 53)

To re-state it, the T_r who commits himself to these intricate processes must listen, even feel, exactly what the T_e is communicating, and feed it back. He does this, not by *regurgitating* the T_e's words *verbatim*, but by expressing with his own language what the T_e projects. It requires an intensive effort not to employ one's own evaluative categories, but instead to accept the T_e's and use them. Needless to say, the T_e communicates feelings as well as ideas, and the T_r must be ready to apprehend both of these, accept them, and communicate them.

In a typical counseling session, the T_e makes a statement about, let's say, the reading assigned or the experience of teaching a class, and the T_r, accepting this, provides him with a paraphrase or summary in a supportive tone of voice.

Counseling proceeds accordingly with the T_e making statements and the T_r replying in a warm, sympathetic manner. In this way, with the T_r listening and responding to the "whole person" of the T_e with the "whole person" responses, the T_e becomes, as he should, the focus of the training session. It is, after all, not the T_r's interaction with the material that is or ought to be primary in the training, but the T_e himself, wholly engaged in internalizing the material for his own purposes. In this way, the T_e can grow to function independently of the T_r in the role of teacher.

This form of interaction leads quickly to a much deeper consideration of the issues than is possible in the action-reaction modality. Though it may appear aimless and undirected at first, this kind of interaction brings the material and, more importantly, the T_e's reaction to it into much sharper focus. It helps the T_e know himself realistically and respectfully. It also helps the T_r clarify his role vis á vis the T_e. The T_e brings his sense of what is going on to the training sessions; the T_r lends him his structure to make mutually satisfying statements expressive of what the T_e sees. Together, they go through what in Curran's paradigm are referred to as particularization, symbolization, and investment. Gradually, as the T_e's experience is reflected and defined, choices begin to emerge. In a "questing together," both the T_r and the T_e can arrive at an acceptable course of action.

Thus, in Curran's words, the participants are "convalidated." As they both confront with precision what the T_e is going through in his search for suitable behavior, their roles are mutually and positively defined, thus enabling each to make a firmer commitment to the process. The process thus becomes one of profound confirmation of self for both participants.

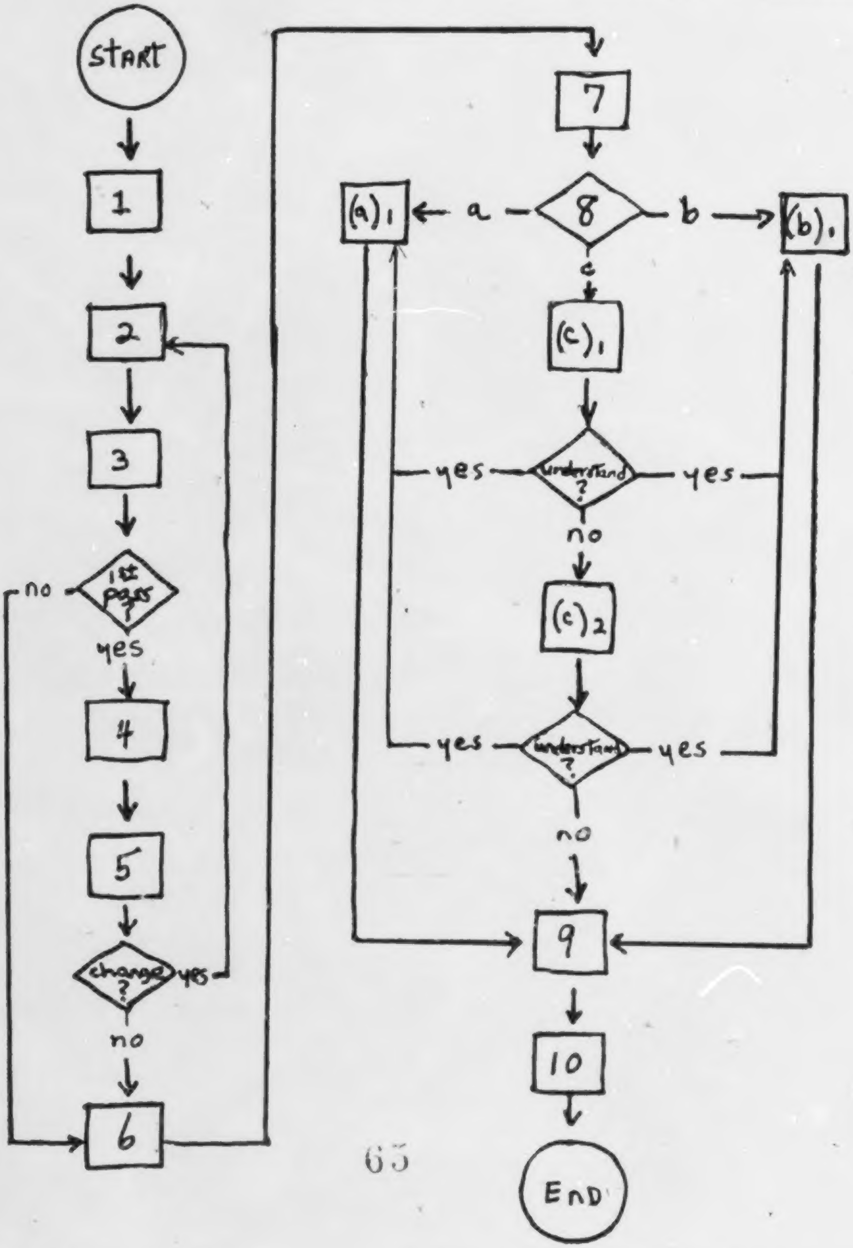
Up to now, we have discussed what goes on in a counseling session as if nearly everything flowed from the T_e to the T_r, with the T_r functioning as a kind of retaining wall enabling the T_e to see the limits of his own experience. Inevitably, however, in any teacher-training process the T_r must *stand* as well as *understand*. It would be deceptive to suggest that the T_r never comments, speaking out of his own world, on the behavior of the T_e. There are, to be diagrammatic and simplistic, always two phases to a training process: (1) valuation and (2) instruction.

In the first phase of a training process, the T_r and the T_e collectively discover, in the manner described, the unique value of the T_e's experience: in the classroom. In the second phase, the T_e needs the T_r's instruction in order to move onward. We describe these here as if they were discrete phases of the training of teachers when, in fact, they are the magnetic poles of a constantly shifting pattern of interaction.

In the course of this counseling experience, in fact, a remarkable reversal of roles is likely to occur, and occur with increasing frequency. In the shift here described, the T_e, having clarified to his own satisfaction what has gone before, or having reached the stage of symbolization, is likely to signal the T_r that he is open to suggestion. He asks the T_r for help. This, it is important to note, is not the conventional ruse which we have all mastered of asking for criticism in order to defuse it. Rather, when this moment is reached in an ongoing program of counseling—and it is reached often—the T_r is clearly being invited to speak from his world and not the T_e's. This shift involves a curious reversal because the T_e is effectively offering to become the understander, to accept whatever help the T_r can provide in resolving whatever issue has arisen.

Chart 1

MODIFIED FLOW CHART OF COUNSELING APPROACH TO TRAINING


START
1
2
3
1st pass ?
no
yes
4
5
change ?
yes
no
6
7
8
a
b
c
(a)1
(b)1
(c)1
understand ?
yes
yes
no
(c)2
understand ?
yes
yes
no
9
10
END

Steps in a Counseling Approach to Teacher Training

VALUATION

1. T_r explains exactly what kind of power he has and will exercise over T_e.

[Structuring]

2. T_e tells T_r his expectations and objectives:
   (a) What he wants to get from their association.
   (b) How he sees his teaching role.
   (c) What he wants to do in the classroom.

   T_r GIVES UNDERSTANDING RESPONSES THROUGHOUT.

[Goal Setting]

Here it is very useful for T_r & T_e to be using an objective instrument of observation & analysis. It provides a common language for discussing objectives. The Fanselow FOCUS System provides what these authors consider the most inclusive system.

3. T_r summarizes and restates T_e's objectives and asks for confirmation that he has understood correctly.

4. OBSERVATION OF T_e's CLASS:
   T_r notes carefully how T_e's objectives were achieved or approximated.
   T_r does NOT note what T_e failed to do or could have done differently.

[Practice Teaching]

Here an observation instrument assists T_r to see objectively what was done and what that achieved. Furthermore, what was not done is listed in the system; it's available when it's asked for.

5. T_r begins the post-observation discussion by recalling & restating the T_e's objectives, and requesting that T_e verify:
   (a) That the restatement is correct, and
   (b) That those are still the T_e's objectives.

   IF T_e WANTS TO CHANGE, REPEAT STEPS 2 & 3.

6. T_r DOES NOT: (a) "Say something nice" about the lesson, and then 'zap' T_e with a criticism.
   (b) Tell T_e *anything* about what he observed or about what could have been done or should have been done instead.

7. T_r listens to, and understands, T_e's view of lesson.

   Generally, there are two phases here:
   (a) T_e talks about anything and everything that went on. (This needs to be accepted.)
   (b) T_e is able to focus on what went on with regard to his objectives. (May need some channeling from T_r, to get into this.)

   T_r GIVES UNDERSTANDING RESPONSES THROUGHOUT.

This is a crucial part of valuation. The T_e is clarifying the experience for himself.

INSTRUCTION

8. TRANSITION POINT

   This is the point where it feels mutually "fitting" to move on from *only* understanding of the T_e's viewpoint to acceptance of the T_r's instruction.

Doesn't necessarily occur in every conference.

Transition may be in one or more of these directions:

This breakdown of the transition is not intended to preclude (d), (e), (f), etc.

(a) T_e has seen and specified some things he 'did wrong,' & has asked how to do them better.

T_r restates this, & asks if T_e wants to be given suggestions, to figure things out on his own, to have a demo, to read a book, or etc.

T_r gives a clear & reasonable choice, & accepts T_e's answer.

T_r follows thru' on instructions.

(b) T_e has said he wants to change his objective(s) or may be just heading toward a different emphasis.

T_r restates the old & new objectives. Asks for T_e's verification.

T_r points out differences. Asks if differences are clear. T_r asks T_e to specify whether he wants to change, combine, or stick with the old.

T_r accepts T_e's choice.

(c) T_e really thinks he's achieved his objective; but actually he's way off the track. (T_r really has understood him; he has been saying so.)

T_r understandingly re-caps T_e's viewpoint.

T_r contrasts that with his own viewpoint, and what he saw T_e do.

T_r understandingly says how he thinks T_e's misunderstanding might have arisen. (It usually *isn't* stupidity; there's a *reasonable* explanation.)

$(c)_1$ T_r asks if T_e understands & agrees with the different viewpoint. If he does agree, the T_r and T_e can skip step $(c)_2$.

$(c)_2$ Chances are good T_e will get very defensive; will attempt to excuse himself &/or prove T_r wrong.

T_r listens AND GIVES UNDERSTANDING RESPONSES. (T_r "hurt" T_e for his own good, but it did hurt. T_e "has a right to bleed"!)

See (a) above

See (b) above

An impasse. T_e does not in any way reach an acceptance of T_r's viewpoint. Drop it! T_r tries to think of T_e as 'having difficulty internalizing' and tries *not* to think of T_e as dumb and/or antagonistic. A fourth possibility is that the T_e's ideas have more validity than the T_r originally thought. T_r accepts and apologizes and proceeds to (a) or (b).

9. T_r & T_e mutually decide on what T_e is going to do in next lesson(s).

Decision-making is a combination of understanding responses and normal, courteous democratic process.

T_r makes sure T_e can accurately re-state what he will be expected to do.

10. T_r gives T_e some warning about how the expected new behavior might feel to the T_e.

Anybody doing something new is likely to feel awkward & scared—and to *be* pretty awkward, too. T_r reassures T_e that that's normal & okay and that he understands & appreciates the courage it'll take.

Here again, an observation instrument provides a useful common language, and a list of possible teaching behaviors. Further, it provides a means of zeroing in on, and specifying, the desired behaviors.

N.B. In taking a Counseling approach it is imperative that the T_e not get the impression the T_r is '*using* Counseling-Learning on him.' People dislike having techniques used upon them. The best way to avoid the T_e getting such an impression is for the T_r to avoid thinking of the process in those terms.

The T_r's ability to read the T_e's signals and to effect the shift in roles is crucial to a training program such as we describe.

In the accompanying diagram, we illustrate a common pattern of T_r-T_e interaction, in the counseling modality. (See Chart 1, p. 60.)

Even a casual perusal of chart 1 reveals the central question in the human interaction described: how can the T_r tell the T_e is ready to make the essential shift from being understood to receiving instruction? There is no hard and fast answer to this question. Sometimes the signal comes in the form of a request, *e.g.* "Do you have any suggestions?" Frequently, however, it does not. In understanding this somewhat difficult shift arising from the dynamic of T_r-T_e interaction, four considerations are important.

In the first place as we've stated above, the distinction between valuation and instruction, while very real, is not a sharp break. If properly undertaken, the counseling becomes a "questing together" in which the T_r and the T_e invest themselves in equal measure. Thus, properly seen, the interaction of T_e and T_r rarely leads to a dramatic shift in roles. Rather, it leads to a kind of mutual nudging in the profoundly cooperative search for answers, each participant taking whatever role feels appropriate.

Secondly, counseling is normally carried out within a time frame set down at the beginning of a session. Thus, by indirection, the T_e is led to edit what he has to say to make it fit the situation. In this way, the counseling is given shape and scope, and together the T_r and T_e agree to avoid the kind of aimless wandering over unfamiliar terrain that can lead nowhere. In order to derive the benefit of mutual structure, it is important that both T_r and T_e avoid pooling their ignorance.

Thirdly, and perhaps most important, the T_e sometimes becomes quite emotional in the process of counseling. He may exhibit or express dependency and anxiety. Gradually these give way to independence and sometimes anger directed at the T_r. Curran describes this as ". . . an almost dramatic determination for learning growth, which is sometimes manifested as strong self-assertion over the knower, and even anger if the learner is impeded from using what he has learned. (Curran 1972: 103) Far from being a negation of the process, this is its affirmation. The emotional energy shows that the T_e is personally invested in the process of learning. Nevertheless, the emotion of a T_e, particularly when directed against the T_r, is very difficult to accept and respond to appropriately. The expression of personal emotion in a professional context is, culturally embarrassing, if not threatening. However, in a counseling modality, the acceptance of negative as well as positive emotions is the only way to foster whole-person learning.

Finally, a counseling process on the cognitive level leads quickly and importantly to a shared sense of what one knows and what one does not. It is an intensive effort to make the clearest possible statements about the understanding one has achieved, and, by implication, about the limits of this understanding. From the T_e's point of view, the feeling that the T_r is questing closely makes it more comfortable to admit that one is lost. In any case, together the T_r and T_e have arrived at the clearest possible statement they can make about the experience at hand.

How does it feel from the T_r's point of view to engage in this radically different approach to the training of teachers? In the first place, the T_r is likely to be struck by how slow the process seems at first. This derives in part from our expectations about how fast things normally move. We are conditioned to expect information to flow at us with a rapidity and intensity that is very hard to control. As a consequence, we have developed a variety of defensive mechanisms which enable us to stem the tide by selecting information out before it really penetrates. What the counselor quickly learns is that he must drop these defenses; he must eliminate the filtration process he has acquired: he must accept. In short, the T_r has to slow *himself* down. The T_e, for his part, is rarely slowed down at all. The authors have generally been astonished and delighted at the T_e's rates of progress even though at first the process seemed to weigh and weigh heavily.

Secondly, the T_r must learn initially, and learn anew with each subsequent T_e, to accept not only the T_e's pace, but also the depth to which he elects to go. It is very tempting for a T_r, momentarily elated at what he perceives to be the direction the T_e is taking, to jump in with his own *interpretation* of what the T_e is saying. He is speaking out of his world. He is, conceivably, making the T_e's statements more interesting, more striking, by jumping to implications the T_e may never have intended. In counseling parlance, the counselor is "diving too deeply" and is likely to give the T_e pause and stall the process. The T_r should go only as far and as fast as the T_e appears ready to go himself. The trust the T_e invests in the T_r and in the process is a delicate underpinning which must not be broken. The T_r can destroy it if he "dives" beyond the T_e.

Finally, the T_r should not hesitate to stand if it is clearly fitting to do so. The whole process is a subtle, intuitive one available to anyone who accepts the premise that feelings are a valid part of a whole teaching/learning person. The T_r who has recently committed himself to the tricky business of understanding may feel anything from anxiety to terror at the necessity to *stand* for himself. However, the process is as much defeated by the T_r's failure to stand when necessary as by his failure to *understand* earlier on. The skill necessary to make that subtle transition regularly and effectively can be learned with time and practice. T_es, in fact, are often delightfully supportive of the T_r's efforts in this connection.

In conclusion, the teacher training envisaged by this presentation involves a studied self-consciousness leading to a deeper sense of self and self-worth. It involves a T_r "sick to teach," to free himself of binding processes engaging him only tentatively. It involves a T_e anxious to assume the role of which he feels himself capable. It provides the means for each to risk himself wholly and without fear. In our view, the extent to which they are both wholly engaged is the extent to which they are both likely to be wholly changed and mutually satisfied.

References

Curran, Charles A. 1968. *Counseling and psychotherapy: the pursuit of values.* New York, Sheed and Ward.

Curran, Charles A. 1972. Counseling-learning: *a whole person model for education.* New York, Grune and Stratton.

Curran, Charles A. 1975. Learning: and incarnate-redemptive self-investment process. *Journal of Pastoral Care*, (reprint), 29, 4, 1–8.

Fanselow, John F. 1975. Beyond *Rashomon*-foci for observing communications used in settings. (unpublished) New York, Teachers College, Columbia University.

Gardner, R. C. and W. E. Lambert. 1972. *Attitudes and motivation in second-language learning.* Rowley, Mass., Newbury House.

Jackson, Philip W. 1968. *Life in classrooms.* New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

La Forge, Paul G. 1975. *Research profiles with community language learning.* Apple River, Illinois, C-L Institutes.

Making Sense of It All: What's Happening in the Study of Language and Language Learning and Why It May Be Important for the Language Teacher

DAVID E. ESKEY

During the last fifteen years or so, we have all gotten used to being told that we are living in the midst of the "Chomskyan Revolution," a new approach to language study that will eventually provide us with an adequate description—in Chomsky's own terms, a description at the level of "explanatory adequacy"— of any given human language. The winning combination is supposed to be an amalgam of transformational grammar (which will deliver us from the narrow, coffin-like confines of taxonomic description) and cognitive-code psychology (which will deliver us from the simple-minded equating of human language learners with rats in a maze). For many of us in applied linguistics, however, this utopian vision has begun to look a little like a fairy tale, and some have started to ask whether changing from one formal theory to another has really made all that much difference. Despite some truly valuable insights into the way syntax works and the way human beings learn languages, we can't honestly say that either linguistics or psychology has moved us dramatically closer to solutions to the practical problems that we must deal with in our field. One result of this has been a kind of restless probing into new areas that go far beyond the scope of current theories, and this in turn has led to what, I will argue, could become a major change in direction for the study of language and language teaching and learning.

Let me begin with a really messy list:

> Communicative (vs. Linguistic) Competence; new language teaching methods like the Silent Way (vs. the Audiolingual Method); Individualized Instruction; English for Special Purposes; Interlanguage and Error Analysis (vs. Contrastive Analysis); Generative Semantics (vs. Generative Syntax); Case Grammars; Text Grammars and Discourse Analysis; Variable Rules; Ethnomethodology; Speech Acts; and Pragmatics.

What do all of these have in common? An obvious answer is that all of them are current issues in language teaching or linguistics, but I will also argue that, at a deeper level, all of them are signs of a fundamental change that is slowly taking place in the study of

---

This selection is based on teaching done in a workshop at the 1976 TESOL Convention. David E. Eskey teaches at the University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California 90007.

language—in many ways a more revolutionary change than anything that we have experienced so far.

In the abstract, the change that I have in mind is simply a change from a formal to a *functional* approach to both the study of language and language teaching and learning, but the practical implications of this, as my long list suggests, may transform these fields into something very different from what they are today. Basically, a functional approach to language—a function-based as opposed to a form-based linguistics—means approaching language as a type, not a product, of human behavior, more specifically a type of communication. In place of Chomsky's idealized ideal native speaker talking to no one in a kind of neutral context, this approach presupposes real native speakers (or non-native speakers) in real social contexts talking to each other.

Of course, the concept of function is not new to language study. Grammarians since the time of Dionysius Thrax have been working with the complementary relationship between linguistic forms, like nouns and verbs, and linguistic functions, like subjects and predicates. If the sentence, the basic unit of analysis, is a form, the various *kinds* of sentences are normally classified according to function—as statements, questions, commands, and so on. But most of our grammars—at least those that have worked—have begun with sets of forms, and what you begin with makes a difference.

If you begin with forms, it's hard to get to functions that do not correlate directly with these forms, and the final list of functions in such a description may be limited to those for which there are formal signals in the grammar—changes in intonation, shifts in word order, the insertion of lexical items, and the like. Current linguistic grammars, of whatever school, can deal with such basic grammatical functions as adverbial, subject, complement, and so on, and with such sentence functions as question, emphatic assertion, and command, all of which correlate directly with one kind of linguistic form or another. But none can deal with such obvious functions of language as conversing naturally, offering or declining an invitation, or making a polite apology. This is partly a result of a preoccupation with linguistic forms and partly a result of refusing to deal with any unit of discourse longer than the sentence, and these remarkably stringent limitations have left us with a theory of language description that, for many purposes, is hopelessly impoverished in scope.

If, on the other hand, you begin with functions, no such limitations need apply. At some desired level of "delicacy" (for purposes of analysis, you may divide a living language into as few or as many categories as you like, but the number is in principle infinite), a set of language functions provides the primary framework and the various forms of the language assume the secondary status of a set of devices for realizing these linguistic functions, many of which linguists have simply ignored as outside the scope of linguistic inquiry.

At the moment, there is no well-developed system for the functional description of a natural language, but there are many kinds of work in a variety of fields which appear to be pointing in that direction.

In linguistics, we might look to Charles Fillmore's case grammar, an interesting if perhaps abortive attempt to provide formal grammar with a functional base; to the much discussed work in so-called generative semantics, interesting in the context of my argument, for its failure to get itself off the ground within the limits of its formalist antecedents; to the Chicago Linguistic Society's *Papers from the Parasession on Functionalism;* to attempts at text grammars and discourse analysis; and to the work of the British neo-Firthians—especially M.A.K. Halliday—who have moved a good deal farther into functionalism than any of their American counterparts.

In sociolinguistics, a new mood is apparent. The old feelings that this field must fall somewhere in between linguistics proper and sociology is giving way to the notion that social variables are an integral, and not merely a peripheral, part of an adequate linguistic analysis. Here we might, for example, look to the pioneering work of William Labov and a number of colleagues on variable rules, which attempt to account for certain intercorrelations among linguistic forms and social variables; to Dell Hymes' *Foundations in Sociolinguistics*, the final third of which is called "Linguistics as Sociolinguistics"; and to the work of Basil Bernstein in Great Britain. And there is finally the closely related work of the ethnomethodologists, people like Harvey Sacks and Harold Garfinkel, who want to work out the rules of the grammar.

In language teaching, a functional bias is apparent in work on communicative competence; in new language-teaching methods like Gattegno's Silent Way; in Jakobovits and Gordon's manifesto-like *The Context of Foreign Language Teaching* and the practice-oriented, classroom-centered research of Richard Allwright, Charles Blatchford, and John Fanselow; and in Corder's and Selinker's work on interlanguage and much related research in second-language acquisition and error analysis. This last is really research in psycholinguistics, where an earlier obsession with transformational grammar may be passing in favor of more comprehensive kinds of studies. Then too there is John Oller's work on pragmatics, traditionally a subject for philosophers, but in this context still another way of calling for a functional approach to the study of language. Philosophy itself has of course produced, in the quasi-mathematical work of logicians, perhaps the most extreme examples of formalist linguistics, but there are other kinds of philosophers, people like John Searle and H. P. Grice, whose analyses of speech acts and conversational implicatures respectively are very much in the spirit of functionalist thinking.

An interesting example of work which, at first glance, would not appear to be related to my largely theoretical concerns is the current (mostly British) work on what has come to be known as English for Special Purposes. I am thinking especially of Widdowson's recent papers on teaching English for science, and Wilkins' very specific proposals for "the linguistic and situational content of the common core" of the Council of Europe's unit/credit system for learning modern languages. This is intensely practical work: its goal is the design and implementation of optimal courses for particular learners with particular needs, from waiters to bankers to international scholars. Seen from a functional perspective, however, such work appears to follow naturally from the premise that language should not be approached in the abstract, since the language that particular people use for some particular purpose is really the only kind of language there is. What, after all, is the alternative to English for Special Purposes? Is there really an English for No Special Purpose anywhere but in the tidy dream-worlds of scholars?

Linguistics, language teaching, psycholinguistics, philosophy of language, and sociolinguistics: in all of these special fields, and in related fields, there has clearly been a shift in emphasis from the study of language as a set of abstract forms, interacting within a system of essentially mathematical rules, to the study of language as an open-ended series of communicative functions, for which the formal subsystems simply provide a realization mechanism. To me, this implies the eventual emergence of a wholly new way of looking at language that will cut across this spectrum of disciplines and may effect a genuine revolution in the study of language as a whole. I would therefore like to turn to the basic principles of this emerging new approach. Three appear to be crucial:

(1) The basic unit for analysis is not the sentence, but the language act. I use the phrase *language act* as a cover term for what, in descriptions of the spoken language, are sometimes called *speech acts* or *transactions*, and what, in the context of the written language, may be described as the production or analysis of *discourse* or *text*. The concept language act implies a speaker or writer in communication with an audience of some kind, though there may be no reciprocal contact, as in lecture situations, or even no direct contact, as in reading or writing.

(2) Context is not merely the background to, but an integral part of, any language act. Knowing a language means a good deal more

than having acquired a certain set of phonological, syntactic, and lexical habits or having acquired a knowledge, in whatever form, of a certain set of abstract rules for generating well-formed sentences. It means knowing how to use the language in context, that is knowing, in any given situation, what the real linguistic options are.

(3) Language acts are a product of human intentions. Understanding language acts means understanding the kinds of things people *use* a language for. The simple exchange of straight-forward information (the "ideational" function) is just one of these things, and not, as most adults imagine, the only one that matters. Other functions include (to use Halliday's system of classification) the "interpersonal"—exchanging greetings and leavetakings, expressing personal feelings, including or excluding others, and the like; and the "textual" relating language acts to context—developing an argument, adding to the conversation, contributing something new and relevant to some given structure of ongoing discourse.

In sum, a functional approach to the study of language redefines that endeavor as the study of the language acts, in context, of real human beings.

Ten years ago William F. Mackey wrote:

> It is likely that language teaching will continue to be a child of fashion in linguistics and psychology until the time it becomes an autonomous discipline which uses these related sciences instead of being used by them. To become autonomous it will, like any science, have to weave its own net, so as to fish out from the oceans of human experience and natural phenomena only the elements it needs, and ignoring the rest, be able to say with the ichthyologist of Sir Arthur Eddington, "What my net can't catch isn't fish."
>
> Contemporary claims that applied linguistics can solve all the problems of language teaching are as unfounded as the claims that applied psychology can solve them. For the problems of language teaching are central neither to psychology nor linguistics. Neither science is equipped to solve the problems of language teaching. Nor are teams of linguists and psychologists, since the smallest question in language teaching involves a detailed knowledge of certain highly specialized aspects of both psychology and linguistics.
>
> The only sensible solution is the elaboration of the science of language didactics starting from a synthesis of the relevant findings in the appropriate fields. It would probably be no more of an exact science than is medicine; but just as medicine makes use of chemistry, physics, physiology and other sciences, language didacteis could make use of such disciplines as phonetics, descriptive linguistics, semantics, pedagogy, comparative stylistics, psycholinguistics, mathematical linguistics, psychometry, and any other science or technology which may help solve its basic problems. But these would never be more than tools at the service of the theories and techniques elaborated by an autonomous discipline. (Mackey 196[illegible].13)

In coming to grips with the problems that confront me as a specialist in English as a second language, I start from the assumption that second-language teaching is, as Mackey says it should be, an autonomous field. Whatever our position in this or that pecking order, I take our autonomy for granted, but this is not to deny that our work is related in important ways to work in linguistics and psychology and work in many other sectors of the study of language. Just as doctors have profited enormously (in more ways than one) from breakthroughs in the areas Mackey lists, so we have much to learn from research in related disciplines. We therefore have a stake—and a very big stake—in the change from a formal to a functional approach to the study of language, a change that may eventually give us a linguistics that teachers could really apply. I would like to add, however, for our colleagues with a primary interest in theory that all of this is very much a two-way street. Just as engineering and medicine provide a kind of final test for the physical and biological sciences, language teaching can provide any theory of language with the test of the real world, where language, as a form of human behavior, remains a hard fish to catch in anybody's net.

References

Allwright, Richard. 1976. Language-teaching and learning as a negotiated process. Paper read at the 10th annual TESOL Convention, New York City.

Bailey, Charles-James N. and Roger Shuy, eds. 1973. *New ways of analyzing variation in English.* Washington, D.C., Georgetown University Press.

Bernstein, Basil. 1971. *Class, codes, and control 1: theoretical studies towards a sociology of language.* London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Blatchford, Charles H. 1975. Teachers teach as they were taught. Paper read at the 9th annual TESOL Convention, Los Angeles.

Broderick, John P. 1976. Linguistic research on discourse and conversation. Paper read at the 10th annual TESOL Convention, New York City.

Brown, H. Douglas. 1975. The next 25 years: shaping the revolution. In Marina K. Burt and Heidi C. Dulay, eds., *New directions in second language learning, teaching, and bilingual education,* Washington, D.C., TESOL.

Corder, S. Pit. 1975. Error analysis, interlanguage, and second language acquisition. *Language Teaching and Linguistics: Abstracts,* 8, 4, 201–218.

Coulthard, Malcolm. 1975. Discourse analysis in English—a short review of the literature. *Language Teaching and Linguistics: Abstracts,* 8, 2, 73–89.

Diller, Karl. 1975. Some new trends for applied linguistics and foreign language teaching in the United States. *TESOL Quarterly,* 9, 1, 65–73.

van Dijk, Teun A. 1972. *Some aspects of text grammars.* The Hague, Mouton.

English for academic study with special reference to science and technology. 1975. London, The British Council English Teaching Information Centre.

Fanselow, John. 1975. Selected behaviors of experienced and inexperienced language teachers: a descriptive analysis. Presentation at the 9th annual TESOL Convention, Los Angeles.

Garfinkel, Harold. 1968. *Studies in ethnomethodology.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ, Prentice-Hall.

Gattegno, Caleb. 1972. *Teaching foreign languages in schools: the silent way.* New York, Educational Solutions.

Grice, H. P. 1967. Logic and conversation. In Donald Davidson and Gilbert Harman, eds., *The logic of grammar,* Encino, CA, Dickenson, pp. 64–75.

Grossman, Robin E., L. James San, and Timothy J. Vance, eds. 1975. *Papers from the parasession on functionalism.* Chicago, Chicago Linguistic Society.

Halliday, M. A. K. 1973. *Explorations in the functions of language.* London, Edward Arnold.

Hymes, Dell. 1974. *Foundations in sociolinguistics.* Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press.

Jakobovits, Leon A. and Barbara Gordon, eds. 1974. *The context of foreign language teaching.* Rowley, Mass., Newbury House.

Labov, William. 1972. The internal evolution of linguistic rules. In R. P. Stockwell and R. K. S. Macauley, eds., *Linguistic change and generative theory,* Bloomington, Indiana, Indiana University Press, pp. 101–171.

Lakoff, Robin. 1976. Linguistic theory and the real world. *Language Learning,* 25, 2, 309–338.

Mackey, William F. 1966. Language didactics and applied linguistics. *English Language Teaching,* 20, 197–206.

Oller, John W., Jr. 1975. Pragmatic mappings. *Lingua,* 35, 333–344.

——— and Jack C. Richards, eds. 1973. *Focus on the learner: pragmatic perspectives for the language teacher.* Rowley, Mass., Newbury House.

Sacks, Harvey. 1975. *Aspects of the sequential organization of conversation.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ, Prentice-Hall.

Savignon, Sandra. 1973. *Communicative competence: an experiment in foreign-language teaching.* Montreal, Didier.

Schumann, John and Nancy Stenson, eds. 1975. *New frontiers in second language learning.* Rowley, Mass., Newbury House.

Searle, John R. 1969. *Speech acts.* London, Cambridge University Press.

Selinker, Larry. 1972. Interlanguage. *International Review of Applied Linguistics,* 10, 219–231.

Widdowson, H. G. 1974. An approach to the teaching of scientific English discourse. *RELC Journal,* 5, 1, 27–40.

———. 1974. Literary and scientific uses of English. *English Language Teaching,* 28, 4, 282–292.

Wilkins, D. A. 1973. The linguistic and situational content of the common core in a unit/credit system. In *Systems development in adult language learning,* Strasbourg, France, Council of Europe, pp. 129–146.

———. 1975. A communicative approach to syllabus construction in adult language learning. In A. J. van Essen and J. P. Menting, eds., *The context of foreign-language learning,* Assen, The Netherlands, Van Gorcum, pp. 173–179.

The "Fantasy Journey"
A Valuable Tool in the ESL Classroom

LYNN A. FASTEN and CHARLES A. FINDLEY

INTRODUCTION

When we examine exactly what we do in the classroom, what our objectives are, and what our students are learning, we quickly become aware that like most teachers we concentrate on transmitting subject matter knowledge and skills, that is, *cognitive* learning. We devote little conscious attention to the emotional, or *affective* domain of learning such as feelings, emotions, and values and the expression and awareness of such by our students. Take a few minutes and reflect or better still, jot down your objectives to see how well balanced your objectives are. What predominates on your list? Do *cognitive* objectives such as reading comprehension, writing, or punctuation predominate on your list? Or do *affective* objectives such as personal expression of feelings, open and trusting atmosphere in the classroom, or enjoyment of learning predominate on your list?

We are not saying that the cognitive objectives should be abandoned or slighted, but that both cognitive and affective objectives *should* and *can be* blended together to achieve a balanced approach to learning rather than slighting one or the other. Without conscious planning, we tend to focus on the cognitive and let the affective take care of itself. As Krathwohl, Bloom, and Masia (1964:56) point out:

> Our preference for approaching affective achievement through the attainment of cognitive objectives tends to focus attention on these cognitive goals as ends in themselves without determining whether they are actually serving the means to an affective end. Over time the emphasis tends more and more to concentrate on the cognitive objectives at the expense of the affective ones.

The FANTASY JOURNEY is a structured teaching methodology which allows the teacher to integrate both cognitive and affective domains in the ESL instruction so that the affective is not slighted.

Rationale: The approach we call the FANTASY JOURNEY incorporates both domains simultaneously for students who have acquired the basic rules of language structure and a basic vocabulary. While reinforcing basic vocabulary and structure, the fantasy journey assists the student in developing semantic conceptualization in

---

This selection is based on teaching done in a joint workshop at the 1976 TESOL Convention. Lynn A. Fasten teaches in the Department of English, University of Massachusetts, Dorchester, Massachusetts 02125; Charles A. Findley teaches at Northern University, Boston, Massachusetts 02115.

the lexicon of the target language and fitting these concepts into their cognitive structures by actual experience in message creation.

Definition: The fantasy journey, which is rooted in the theory that language use is a creative process, is actually a directed flight of the imagination. Otto (1972:5) defines fantasy as "the creative process involved in the consciously directed, shaped flow of images and ideational material, usually united by a common theme." He further states that "fantasies which have a strong emotional investment, when communicated, can serve as a springboard for recognition and working out of feelings, and for giving new awareness." Moreover, Stevens (1971:6) defines fantasy as "all mental activity beyond the present awareness of ongoing experience." It is an activity which causes students to penetrate, perceive, structure, and create or re-create the reality they know or all the reality that they can come to know.

The Process of Identification: Each fantasy journey involves *identification.* Identification is a process by which a person mentally becomes an object or projects himself into a situation either as himself or as another personage in the situation. Thus a state of consubstantiality exists in which the individual is able mentally to have the same substance or essential nature as the target of identification. Thus, through the process of identification, students can symbolically become "one" with the target object or situation.

Consequently, the fantasy journey and its applications are directed to both the cognitive level of concept attainment and formation and the affective level whereby students are able to explore and express their own personal feelings and values in a positive, open atmosphere.

METHODOLOGY

The fantasy journey as a classroom methodology can be viewed in four steps, the first three of which are necessary for initiating the fantasy and the last of which is applied after the students complete a fantasy. The four steps fall into the following categories:

I. *Semantics,* lexicon and limits
II. *Tense,* structure, aspect and mood
III. *Instructions*
IV. *Follow-up applications,* lexical, tense, creative language processes, and composition and rhetorical modes.

As you read the explanation of the steps, you will probably want to refer to the sample fantasy journeys outlined below.

Depending upon the level of your students and the objectives for your class, you will probably find different aspects of a total lesson applicable. For example, we have employed just the oral part of the fantasy with appropriate tense, structure, and affective prompts with very low level students. In utilizing the methodology with advanced level university students we have focused on sophisticated rhetorical applications and specialized writing activities. Here are some outlines of sample fantasies.

SAMPLE FANTASIES

LEVEL A

RHETORICAL FORM: Definition by description

I AM A ROSEBUSH

I. *Semantics*
   A. Lexicon: *thorn, bush, root, dew, mist, stem, petal,* etc.
   B. Limits: identity, setting, movement, time, and feelings

II. *Tense:* present progressive and simple present

III. *Instructions:* Imagine that you are a rosebush and express what the experience is. The *Limits* are a guide to content. Begin by saying, "I am a rosebush." Remain in the present to tell about what is happening to you at this moment.

IV. *Follow-up:* classification, tense forms, simile and metaphor with personification, spatial description

THE DARK ROOM, CRASH LANDING, and *I AM A MIRROR* are other fantasies appropriate for Level A.

LEVEL B

RHETORICAL FORM: Narration

THE COSTUME SHOP

I. *Semantics*
   A. Lexicon: *sleeve, collar, cap, gloves, slipper, gown, jacket* etc.
   B. Limits: identity, setting, movement, time, and feelings

II. *Tense:* simple past and past progressive

III. *Instructions:* Imagine that you were in a costume shop looking for a costume to wear. Describe the costume before you put it on, and then how it felt and looked after you put it on. Then say what the experience was after you took it off. *Retell* the experience in the past, begin by saying, "I was in a costume shop."

IV. *Follow-up:* classification, tense forms, similes using situation and feeling for comparison, metaphor, chronological development

UNDERWATER EXPLORATION, WISE MAN, and *THE SWAP SHOP* are other fantasies appropriate for Level B

LEVEL C

RHETORICAL FORM: Cause-effect

FAMILY REUNION OF ANIMALS

I. *Semantics*
   A. Lexicon: *picnic, gathering, basket, ants, tablecloth* etc.
   B. Limits: identity, feelings, relations, setting, and function

II. *Tense:* form for expressing unreal conditions; conditional

III. *Instructions:* Imagine that you were at a picnic with your family and that each member turned into an animal. Describe each member and how you relate to them in that experinee. Begin by saying, "If I was at a picnic with my family and each one of us turned into a different animal, I would be. . ."

IV. *Follow-up:* Classification, real and rejected conditions, similes with relative clauses, metaphor from two word combinations which are in opposition, cause and effect organization.

MOTORCYCLE, THE GARDEN OF EDEN, and ***FIRE OR ICE*** **are other fantasies appropriate to Level C.**

LEVEL D

RHETORICAL FORM: **Argument**

THE LAST JOURNEY

I. *Semanitcs*
  - A. Lexicon: *suitcase, board, overseas, foreign, alien, emigrate*, etc.
  - B. Limits: setting, identity, feeling, function, and value

II. *Tense:* simple future with modal "will"

III. *Instructions:* Imagine that you are about to take a trip to a new land from which there is no return. You can only take one suitcase with you. You must choose which items to take with you. Identify with each item you think about taking. Begin by saying, "I will go to a new land."

IV. *Follow-up:* classification, "going to," and present progressive to express future time, similes comparing values to objects in different situations, metaphors with internal similes, and simple argument form.

WHEN I GROW UP, YOUR LAST YEAR, and *BORN AGAIN* are other fantasies appropriate to Level D.

I. Semantics

Lexicon: The teacher writes new vocabulary items on the board and explains the relationship of the items in the lexicon of the fantasy. Which items the student incorporates into the different possible syntactical structures available involves one choice out of many possible. Therefore, more important than the mere insertion of the lexical item into a structure is the semantic representation governing that insertion in the particular discourse. For example, if the fantasy is an underwater exploration, words such as: "fern," "coral," "respirator," etc. should be placed on the board as new lexical items, the semantic representations of which the students are encouraged to explore in their fantasies.

Limits (Prompt Categories): The teacher sets the limits of the fantasy by noting the factive and emotive concepts to be used to generate new concept formation. In other words, the teacher places on the board "prompts" of the more inclusive conceptual system which the language learner already knows. Such prompts as "identify" (size, shape, color, texture), "passage of time," "setting," "feelings," "function," etc. aid the students to incorporate these concept areas into the verbal exploration of their fantasies. Moreover, if the students do not explore the "setting" of the fantasy or their "feelings" about it sufficiently, the teacher or other students can facilitate by asking appropriate questions: "Where are you located?" "What do you do all day?" "What do you see around you?" "How does that make you feel?" etc. The limits serve as tentative, dynamic boundaries which tell the students what they need to know about the new fantasy world that they are creating. Thus, the limits afford a variety of choices in which new and old vocabulary items may be used aptly.

II. Tense

Each exercise incorporates one particular temporal structure, aspect, or mood objective and provides a model to illustrate the principles of construction. The teacher presents a model to the language learner within the context of the fantasy situation. Thus, the student is provided with knowledge for the correct *formation* as well as *apt use* of the predicate items within the temporal aspect or mood of the fantasy. By presenting a clear cognitive objective to the students in terms of the tense, the teacher lets the student know exactly what they are trying to accomplish before the fantasy begins.

The teacher specifies clearly the objective: "This fantasy occurs at the present moment; therefore use the present tense. All sentences must remain in this tense." As a model, the teacher then gives an example: "I am a pencil. I am yellow and have one black end and one pink end, etc." Or the teacher may state: "This fantasy involves an unreal, hypothetical situation; therefore, use a form of the conditional." As a model, the teacher then says: "If I were a pin cushion, I would be soft and red."

The teacher, through the use of prompt questions, can very easily reinforce or move the student from one time frame to another. The specific application of prompt questions during and after the fantasy is discussed in the FOLLOW-UP section.

III. Instructions

The teacher must give exact instructions to the class in order to begin the exercise. Steps I and II have already begun to define the fantasy, and now the teacher should give a sample first sentence as the final instruction: "I am a rosebush." (Stevens 1971:17) or "If I were a deep-sea diver. . . ." Be sure to reiterate the importance of really trying to experience the fantasy with all aspects of the senses and feelings. You are not asking merely for description based on sense recording. The factive and emotive prompts lead the students into the exploration of ways of using the same or new vocabulary items within the context of the different fantasy situations.

Correction: Pronunciation should be corrected only if the pronunciation hinders comprehension. Correction of surface structure elements are made if the students do not remain within the time, tense framework or need help making themselves intelligible. Students will usually let you know when they need help or another student will question the speaker for clarification.

Time limit: Setting a time limit may be necessary to ensure that all members of the class, the teacher included, will be able to verbalize the fantasy. A guide of three to five minutes is usually workable.

As a general principle, the teacher should explain that no judgment of acceptability or unacceptability is allowed. The fantasy experience is a situation in which there is pronounced emotional thrust without the constraints of social acceptability. Thus, there are no limits of conventional reality. Everything within the realm of fantasy is accepted as real and valid. Therefore, the students are free to express themselves without risk. The students do not rehearse their statements prior to utterance and their speech is spontaneous.

The preceding steps initiate the fantasy. As an illustration of what students might produce in their fantasies, look at the two samples below. The first fantasy, "I am a Rosebush," was written by a Spanish-speaking female student after three months of intensive English instruction, age 20. The second fantasy, "The Costume Shop," was written by an advanced Italian speaker, male, age 45. (Refer to the preceding SAMPLE FANTASIES to review the instructions and objectives for these two sample responses.) The fantasies are printed below without correction. The students spoke the fantasies in class and were asked to record their oral fantasy as homework for the next class session.

Sample Lesson #1

JOURNAL ENTRY

I AM A ROSEBUSH

I am a rosebush, and I am eight months old. I am from China but now I am living in the United States in the Jones' living room. I have a lot of buds and each one is red and yellow and also I have a big yellow flower.

I am happy because the people who live in this house water me everyday. Here I can enjoy a lot of light and sun. I am four feet hight and my thorns are green and brown. Some of them are red. I'm growing in a big pot where my roots have space to live good. Mrs. Jones looks after me. She tells me nice words because I am the best ornament in the living room, because my petals are softs and my stem is hard. I am pretty and nice and I am good company for this family.

Sample Lesson #2

JOURNAL ENTRY

THE COSTUME SHOP

Once I felt tired and, to relax myself, I took a walking along the beach. I was attracted by the many stores, displaied a long now out in in only one side of the street. Walking along the crowded platform I was surprised by the signs of a costume shop. Immediately I entered inside and really I felt enchanted regarding all the different kinds of stuff in the shop. It seemed to me to be a magic atmosphere because of the strange fashion of the different costumes because of the intense lighting because of the numerous people, because of the feast created by the children.

I went around along the big, high and crowded shop looking for something which would fit to me. I saw sport sweater shirts and pants, but I was blockid to buy some then by the price and by an inside conflict, usual to me anytime I am shopping. In fact many opposite feelings split myself into different directions in such a way that I can't make any choices. On the contrary this time going on through the shop I stopped before a warrior's costume. I didn't know what kind of unconsious feeling kept me, but I know that quickly I was fascinated by that costume. I tried it on and soon realized why I was so glad. I thought that this stuff was a symbol of my life, in which always I have batteled for a high cause against the corruption and manipulation of the clergy's power. I was considered as a leader of this conflict against the authoritarism. Therefore trying on the costume all these feelings came out from my unconscious and so I could enjoy for a moment the perception of struggling and defeating the hypocricy and all kinds of repression or violation of the rights of human beings.

Finally I awoke from this kind of dream and put off the costume, deciding to buy it and bring it at home for further escapes of my fantasy.

IV. Follow-up Applications

The applications which follow can be conducted orally in class or can be developed as written assignments for in-class or out-of-class use. The follow-up applications are discussed in five parts.

Fantasy as Stimulus: To provide the students with an initial writing assignment, the students can be asked to record their oral fantasy in written form in class or as homework as was previously illustrated in Sample Lessons 1 and 2.

If the instructor or students do not wish to use the fantasy as the basis for the written work, the instructor can make a tape recording of the fantasy as the students speak in class. The tape recording can serve as the basis for individualized work with pronunciation or difficult structures. This type of work would destroy the atmosphere of free, creative expression if conducted in great detail during the actual oral fantasy.

Lexical Application, Classification: The first lexical exercise involves the categorization of the words and phrases generated by the students in their fantasies. If the fantasy is conducted orally in class, the teacher should record various words and phrases used by the students; this list can then be transferred to the board. If a written record of the fantasy is made by the students, i.e. completion of the journal entry, this can serve as the basis for classification by the students on a form similar to Worksheet A which is illustrated below. The follow-up applications which accompany one lesson—THE COSTUME SHOP—will be explained in detail. Transference to other lessons will be simplified by focusing on one lesson. The authors are presently developing a text consisting of a series of worksheets following the format of Worksheet A.

Worksheet A

LESSON #5 THE COSTUME SHOP

Objective: Classification

Purpose: To help the student (1) become more aware of the role each word plays within the sentences and paragraphs, (2) form concepts easier by grouping words under different major concepts which are listed below, (3) be able to quickly select and choose only those words which are relevant to the main ideas in later exercises.

INSTRUCTIONS: Read over your journal entry for this lesson. Place each major word in the most appropriate column below. Be sure you have at least five words or phrases in each column. There is a new column on this worksheet, *time*. In this column list words that relate to time such as *after, before, first, then* etc. in the same order they occurred in your fantasy. In the *movement* column include only those *verbs* that indicate *action* or *motion.*

IDENTITY	SETTING	MOVEMENT	FUNCTION	FEELING	TIME

The student is asked to place the major lexical items in categories, either under the "prompt" concepts or new concepts offered by the class. Certain items will fall into two or more categories. For example, the item "hurt" could fall into a classification such as *feelings* as well as the classification *function.* This exercise develops the cognitive skill of generalization and classification while providing the student the opportunity to explore his own personal language use. Moreover, the student begins to understand the importance of context to semantic representation.

Governing the lexical inventory used by the students is a fairly complex system of inclusion, exclusion, hierarchical subordinate, etc. Bierwisch 1971). Also within the lexicon of the language we can explore biologically given notions such as identity, space, body, movement, territory, life, fear, etc. as well as undefined terms (Fillmore 1971). For example, the item "growth," generated out of the rosebush fantasy, may be evaluated according to properties which are not immediately derivable from the normal dictionary definition of "growth." If we categorize according to the concepts of *size, shape, passage of time, setting,* etc., then the word "growth" finds relevant representation in more than one category. The word begins to acquire what Maclay (1971) terms "encyclopedic meaning," i.e. indicating the user's cultural and physical universe.

Tense and affective prompt questions: The instructor may in subsequent or concurrent follow-up exercises elicit different tense forms from that appropriate for the original fantasy setting while at the same time develop personal affective domain responses. For example, in the fantasy from Level B used here as an illustration (The Costume Shop), the teacher can move from the simple past to the past progressive, and if the teacher desires, to the past perfect. For example, The Costume Shop asks the students to imagine that they are visiting a costume shop where they are to choose a costume to try on. They retell the experience of selection, dressing up, and subsequent disrobing in the past tense as though it had already happened. For example, a student might say: "I went into the shop and looked around. I saw a bright green costume I wanted to try on. . . ." The teacher can once again facilitate in the verbalization of emotive perceptions by asking appropriate questions: "How did you feel with the costume on?" or "How did you feel when you looked at yourself in the mirror?" To elicit the use of the past perfect, questions such as: "What had you done before you chose your costume?" or "After you had taken off your costume, what did you do?" should be asked. If the teacher desires to elicit the past progressive, prompt questions could be employed such as: "Did you feel good while you were putting on the costume?" or "Did you notice the color of the buttons as you were looking in the mirror?" In addition, to illustrate a type of written homework assignment that might be used relative to The Costume Shop, Worksheet B is presented below:

Worksheet B

Part I

LESSON #5 THE COSTUME SHOP

Objective: Use of the simple past and past progressive in sentences with clauses.

Purpose: To help the student combine activities in progress in the past with an activity completed at a definite point in time when the two happened at the same time.

INSTRUCTIONS: Now see if you can combine any of your feelings or activities from the fantasy to use the past progressive and simple past together. For example: "I put on the costume." and "It felt great." could be written "As I was putting on the costume, it felt great." Write five (5) combined sentences below.

Note: Words used to relate time when combining sentences:
AS . . . . at the time that, during the time that
WHEN . . . . at the time that
WHENEVER . . . . anytime
WHILE . . . . during the time that
UNTIL . . . . up to the time that

INSTRUCTIONS: By now the difference between the simple past and the past progressive should be clear to you. To check yourself, plan to interview another member of the class about his experience and feelings. Write five (5) questions you want to ask.

Worksheet B
Part II

LESSON #5

THE COSTUME SHOP

Objective: Use of "used to" and present tense.

Purpose: To help the student express habitual action in the past by the use of "used to" and present tense.

NOTE: "Used to" for habitual activity in the past, or state or condition that existed over a period of time in the past

SAMPLE FORM:

	used to	+	present tense of verb
I, we	used to		weigh
you	used to		weigh
he, she, it, they	used to		weigh

INSTRUCTIONS: Think of five (5) changes in your identity or activities from childhood to the present time. Write them below using *used to* to express an habitual activity or condition in the past. For example, you might say: "I used to have red hair." "I used to wear a wig." "I used to drive to school."

1. ______________________________

2. ______________________________

3. ______________________________

4. ______________________________

5. ______________________________

The follow-up exercises for the other levels of fantasies can be generated in a similar manner to the exercises on Worksheet B. The progressions are outlined in step II in the SAMPLE FANTASIES presented earlier.

Creative Language Processes: Once the words from the students' fantasies are classified into categories, there are three lexical exercises which may be employed in oral or written form. The first is called "word pairing." The students are asked to take any two disparate words and form a sentence with a verb which unites them logically or conceptually. This exercise assists the students in acquiring the normal usage of lexical items. For example, in the rosebush fantasy, if the student chooses the words "thorn" and "mist," the student may form the sentence: "The mist fell on the thorns." Similarly, if the student chooses "angry" from the *feelings* category and "branches" from the *setting* list, the student might say: "The branches were angry when winter came."

An even more sophisticated exercise in word pairing asks the students to pair the words directly without any insertion into a sentence. Examination of the difference between the meanings of "thorn mist" and "mist thorn" or "branches angry" and "angry branches" affords insight into the conventional orderability of words and the creative orderability of words. In some instances, we are actually teaching rules for breaking rules so that we can see the world not only as factual reality but in a metaphorical sense based on seeing and establishing new non-factual relationships between elements. Worksheets D and E which follow illustrate these exercises as written assignments:

Worksheet D

LESSON #5 THE COSTUME SHOP

Objective: Comparison using simile; creation of metaphor.

Purpose: To help the student acquire semantic rules governing the normal usage of words, and to add clarity to expression.

1. Choose two disparate (unrelated) words.
   thorn *rain*
2. Use the two words in a sentence which logically or conceptually relates them.
   The rain touched the thorns of the bush.
3. Think about how it feels to be in the situation you have created in #2. Identify with one of the words from #1 and write the dominant feeling below:
   relief
4. Write a simile which compares you and your feeling to the feeling in the situation.
   I feel as relieved as a thorn touched by rain.
5. Pair the word you identified with and the feeling itself. Write a simple sentence with those two words (making sure that there is feature contradiction).
   Relief rained.
6. Choose a context for the above pair which is appropriate for the meaning. Join the pair and the context in a sentence:
   Relief rained over me when I passed the exit.

Worksheet E

LESSON #5 THE COSTUME SHOP

Objective: Development of metaphor.

Purpose: To help the student create appropriate contexts for metaphors of personification.

1. Select a word for a *feeling* or *color*:
   yellow
2. Select a verb that is usually something a person does:
   touch
3. Now put the two together in a simple sentence (#1 is the subject; #2 is the verb):
   Yellow touches.
4. Now think of a situation when this event (#3) would occur:
   the leaves in Autumn
5. Now put your simple sentence (#3) together with your situation (#4):
   Yellow touches the leaves with its soft fingers in Autumn.

These first two exercises in word pairing move the students directly into creating similes and metaphors. With their first sentences, which demonstrated a relationship between two disparate words, the students are asked to generate such similes such as "The boy was as angry as branches in the winter." or "I feel like a thorn in the mist." Similarly, the exercise which asks the students to examine the relationships of disparate words develops the use of metaphor. For example, students may select a noun relating to non-human objects and a verb relating to human actions. By pairing the two words and creating an appropriate context the students are able to easily form a metaphor involving personification.

Composition and Rhetorical Forms: Not only are the fantasies structured according to tense and time, but they are also sequenced according to various rhetorical forms. The fantasy journey can also serve as a basis for analysis of a variety of ordering principles that occur in the larger element of the fantasy as a unit of discourse. Students, in these exercises, examine the sequence of the fantasy in terms of ordering patterns so that concepts of spatial, temporal and causal may be developed. Following the recognition and development of these concepts of ordering, the students are asked to record their fantasies in written form concentrating on an appropriate organizational pattern.

For example, the exercises in Level B, those using the past tenses, can be analyzed in terms of narrative form. In The Costume Shop, the students are directed to dissect the fantasy into its component parts and to label the *setting*, the choosing of a particular costume as *conflict*, the donning of that costume as *climax*, and the disrobing as *denouement*. In their written versions, the students are asked to explore the implications of chronological arrangement, temporal ordering and reordering; students may begin with the climax and then use flashback for recounting the events leading to the climax. Here the emphasis is on the temporal ordering pattern as opposed to the spatial and dominant mood description of the first level. Refer to Worksheets C and F presented below:

Worksheet C

LESSON #5 THE COSTUME SHOP

Objective: Narrative form and chronological organization

Purpose: One strategy in speaking and writing is the use of narrative form (story telling) which you used to write your journal entry for this lesson. One organizational pattern common to story telling is chronological (time sequenced). This worksheet will help you understand the parts of the narrative form and the use of chronological organization.

INSTRUCTIONS: Read over your journal entry for this lesson. Notice that it is possible to break up the narrative (story) into different parts. Your description of the shop and the things in it make up the *setting*. When you looked at the different costumes trying to decide which one to choose, you were really faced with a *conflict*. When you put on the costume you chose, that part of the story was the *climax* (main event). The feeling you had after you put it on is an important part of the climax, underline it in your fantasy so that you don't forget it when you are doing the exercise in this worksheet. When you took off the costume, you ended your fantasy. That part of the story is called the *denouement* (resolution). In summary, the parts of the narrative are: *setting*, *conflict*, *climax*, and *denouement*.

Now rewrite your fantasy focusing on the parts of the narrative and the sequence of writing. First, describe the *setting*. Then follow the simple chronological pattern of *conflict*, *climax*, and *denouement*. REMEMBER, the sequence is just as important as what you say.

Worksheet F

LESSON #5 THE COSTUME SHOP

Objective: Definition by Illustration

Purpose: To help the student define more clearly by giving examples to *illustrate* the meaning. For example, if you are asked to define the word "joy," the meaning will be clearer if you illustrate it; present examples of different situations in which one experiences it. The narrative form can be used to illustrate what you mean.

INSTRUCTIONS: Decide what the major *conflict* was in your fantasy and define the type of conflict by giving three other examples of situations which may produce a similar conflict. Put the major conflict and the feeling which resulted from it in the spaces provided.

Major conflict: ______________________________

feeling: ______________________

Similar conflict situations and feelings:

conflict situation 1: ______________________________

feeling: ______________________

conflict situation 2: ______________________________

feeling: ______________________

conflict situation 3: ______________________________

feeling: ______________________

You have only *listed* three situations above. Now select the one that is the most interesting to you and develop it into a paragraph. First, state in the first sentence the *reason for writing the paragraph.* (For example, "To illustrate what ______________ conflict is, I will tell you about a similar situation which had the same kind of conflict.) Second, follow the simple chronological pattern for the narrative from Worksheet C.

CONCLUSION

The effectiveness of the exercises extends beyond the immediate. Because of the low risk atmosphere in the fantasy setting, students feel free to express themselves. Such imaginary activities involve emotional memory, which according to Brokhin (1974) suppresses recent didactic memory which is based on logic. Brokhin suggests that students learning a language can be stimulated through their imaginations.

Through these exercises the students are able to acquire necessary cognitive skills without slighting development and awareness in the affective domain. The fantasy journey as presented in this description involves a creative process employing object and situation identification in which the familiar is made strange, as well as a process of learning, in which the strange is made familiar (Gordon and Poze 1972). Thus the student learning the language in this way is able to approach learning the language as a whole person, developing and expressing both cognitive and affective knowledge.

This methodology requires no particular type of teacher personality to achieve success. However, for the person unfamiliar with the method, it does require careful preparation and planning. Develop a lesson paying particular attention to clearly formulated student objectives. Initially you will want to follow the steps outlined in the beginning of our description rather closely. As you develop your own teaching skills and lesson plans, you will probably be able to improve upon the basic methodology presented here. Enjoy your trip.

References

Bierwisch, Manfred. 1971. On classifying semantic features. In Steinberg and Jakobovits, 410–435.

Brokhim, Yurii. 1974. Kommunkatsii, emotsii i yazik. *Russkii Yazik* 28, Winter, 35–39. Reviewed in *LLBR*, April 1975.

Fillmore, Charles. 1971. Types of lexical information. In Steinberg and Jakobovits, 370–392.

Gordon, W. J. J. and Tony Poze. 1972. *Strange and familiar.* Cambridge, Massachusetts, Synectics Educational Systems.

Krathwohl, David R., Bejamin S. Bloom, and Bertram B. Masia. 1964. *Taxonomy of educational objectives: the classification of educational goals, Book II: affective domain.* New York, David McKay.

Maclay, Howard. 1971. Linguistics: Overview. In Steinberg and Jakobovits, 157–181.

Otto, Herbert. 1974. *Fantasy encounter games.* New York, Harper and Row.

Steinberg, Danny D. and Leon A. Jakobovits, eds. 1971. *Semantics: an interdisciplinary reader in philosophy, linguistics, and psychology.* London, Cambridge University Press.

Stevens, John O. 1971. *Awareness; exploring, experimenting, experiencing.* New York, Bantam.

Investigation of the Relationship Between Memorization and Rule Acquisition— The Two Stage Language Acquisition Hypothesis

WILLIAM K. GALLAGHER

It is well known that there are two divergent philosophies which continue to influence second language classroom activity. One is based on behavioristic interpretation of learning and the other on a cognitive or rational interpretation (Chastain 1970:223). The behavioristic oriented educational philosophy stresses a memorization strategy of learning, while the cognitive or rational oriented focuses on an intuitive-generalization or "rule" acquisition strategy (Lakoff 1969:117).

Two neurolinguistic hypotheses are considered in this paper. They are: (1) features of language processed in the primary language area of the brain are different in nature from features processed in a posited initial processing area of the brain, and these differences are relevant to a description of language; and, (2) an increased memory load on the posited initial language processing area is responsible for the generation, projection and storage of mental grammar "rules." Both of these hypotheses in somewhat different form were suggested first by Jackson in 1932.

Most linguists and educators agree that children and second language students, in acquiring a language, appear to form their own unconscious generalizations or "rules" about the target language from active contact with it. They then use these "rules" to produce and understand sentences. It is obvious to most linguists that children and second language students do not memorize all of the sentences of the target language and store them in their brains. But rather, they appear to store sets of words plus their own mental "rules" for sentence formation. These "rules" constitute what may be called a "mental grammar." However, since this "grammar" is a set of mental processes, it cannot be directly observed. How the "grammar" may develop is the subject of this paper. In order to study adequately the mental grammar one must analyze an individual's speech and make hypotheses about the mental operations of language acquisition, even though some indirect experimentation is possible.

This selection is based on teaching done in a presentation at the 1976 TESOL Convention. William K. Gallagher teaches in the Department of English as a Second Language and coordinates the English Language Institute at Brigham Young University, Hawaii Campus, Laie, Hawaii 96762.

Van Lancker has proposed that language behavior is made up of two generalized subsets, which may be described as occurring along a continuum from "propositional" or creative language to "automatic," "formula" or non-novel linguistic behavior. "Automatic" speech includes greetings, pause fillers, emotional expressions and the like; for example, "How are you," "Good bye," "All right," et cetera.

It is believed that the linguistic information about these subsets is not all located in one cerebral area. Instead, these subsets may be heterogeneously processed in the brain. That is, "propositional" language appears to be located in one area of the dominant hemisphere. However, "automatic" language may be stored in other areas of the brain (Van Lancker 1975).

Evidence for two language processing areas comes from patients who lose the use of part of their dominant cerebral hemisphere due to automobile accidents, lesions, et cetera. While they often lose their novel speech, they continue to utter rehearsed "automatic" expressions. (Van Lancker 1975:119-128).

Further evidence for two language processing areas comes from dichotic listening experiments. In dichotic listening, two competing stimuli are presented simultaneously to the subject, one in each ear. Normally, when the stimuli are linguistic, the subject reports the right ear presentations with greater accuracy than those presented to the left ear. The simplest explanation for this effect lies in the fact that the right ear is contralaterally connected to the left hemisphere and the left hemisphere does a better job than the right hemisphere for

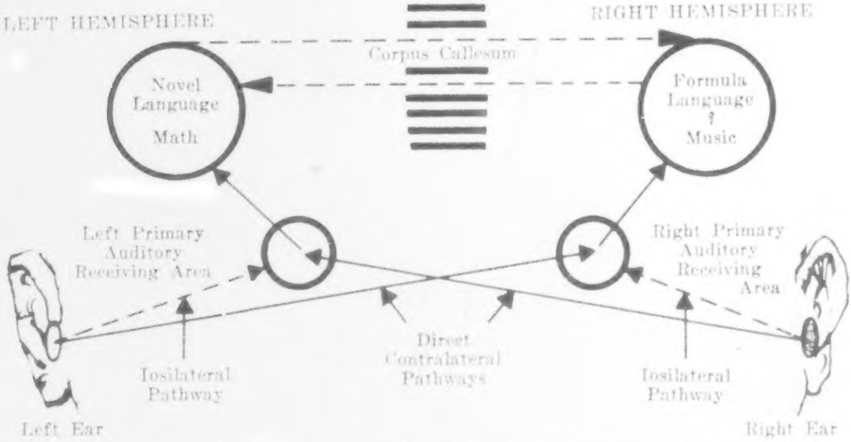

LEFT HEMISPHERE
RIGHT HEMISPHERE
Corpus Callosum
Novel Language
Math
Formula Language
&
Music
Left Primary Auditory Receiving Area
Right Primary Auditory Receiving Area
Iosilateral Pathway
Direct Contralateral Pathways
Iosilateral Pathway
Left Ear
Right Ear

Figure 1. The relationship between the ears and processing areas in the brain.

perception of novel language items. Certain nonlinguistic stimuli, such as music and environmental sounds produce a left ear advantage indicating superior processing capacity of the right hemisphere for these items. Figure 1 illustrates this relationship.

In dichotic listening experiments conducted by Van Lancker (1972) "formula" or "automatic" speech, unlike novel or creative speech, showed no particular ear advantage suggesting that these automatic forms are processed in both hemispheres. In further experiments conducted at Brigham Young University-Hawaii using dichotic listening techniques, some degree of hemispheric specialization for language processing was noted.

Words and short phrases were selected from a pool of expressions which appeared "formula" or "automatic." These items were drawn from those uttered by dominant hemispheric brain damaged patients, early learned English phrases, and other greetings and stereotyped expressions. "Novel" or "creative" expressions were selected from a pool suggested by students and secretaries. They were recorded as uniformly as possible with a male voice using natural intonation appropriate to the item. A stereophonic audio tape was prepared by the BYU-Hawaii Audio Recording Studio using the most sophisticated techniques available to insure that the words and phrases were paired to agree in overall levels of intensity and duration. Onset and termination times were matched, so that the phrase in the right channel matched the phrase in the left channel. The aligned pairs were re-recorded from the studio tape onto audio tape for the experiment.

Twenty items from the originally recorded list of supposed "formula" expressions were matched and aligned with twenty items from the pool of "novel" or "creative" expressions. There was a total of twenty pairs presented in two sets with a five second interval between each pair. Subjects responded by repeating to the experimenter the information heard. The experimenter checked correct responses against an answer sheet concealed from the subject. Order of presentation was switched every twenty items, and head phones were switched after each set. The subjects were 78 right handed students who had acquired English as a Second Language. A total of 6,240 items were presented.

Figure 2 gives the two lists which were matched to each other in the experiment.

Of the total of 6,240 items presented, a total of 945 responses were incorrect, in that they either were not reported or were incorrectly reported. This ratio corresponds to standard dichotic listening results (Kimura 1961, Krashen 1972, Van Lancker 1972).

The errors were fairly evenly distributed at the two ears. How-

FORMULAS	NOVEL SPEECH
1. how are you?	1. I need milk
2. get up	2. yellow
3. come here	3. he can't
4. I'm fine	4. sometimes
5. O.K.	5. guitar
6. shut up	6. old cheese
7. cut it out	7. get my book
8. let's go	8. enough
9. hurry up	9. nice doctor
10. good bye	10. help her
11. no kidding	11. hard exams
12. be quiet	12. admire
13. good morning	13. examples
14. get out	14. on hand
15. how much is it?	15. a large river
16. I'm sorry	16. mother's dress
17. look out	17. boat house
18. thanks	18. hand
19. Happy birthday	19. tell Bill your name
20. I love you	20. good candy

Figure 2. Formula and Novel Speech items used in the Experiment.

ever, when "formula" or "automatic" speech items were fed into the left ear matched with "novel" or "creative" speech items fed into the right ear significantly fewer incorrect responses were given. Table 1 shows the breakdown of the errors.

Formulas to the right ear Novel Speech to the left ear		Formulas to the left ear Novel Speech to the right ear	
Formula errors	250	Formula errors	206
Novel Speech errors	263	Novel Speech errors	217
total errors	522	total errors	423

Table 1. Breakdown of Dichotic listening errors.

The results indicate hemispheric specialization for processing the hypothetical subsets. Such specialization would account for fewer errors when the material was presented in a manner believed to enhance accuracy of perception. In other words, some formula or automatic speech may be stored in an area in the nondominant hemisphere separate from the novel or creative speech area in the dominant hemisphere.

In early language acquisition there appear to be two strategies in operation. One such strategy is learning by imitation and memorization of specific utterances used for specific situations. Informants at both early and late stages of language acquisition have been known to produce "formula" or "automatic" speech which could not be accounted for by the productive grammar "rules" the subjects were using in their normal creative speech up to that time (Bloom 1970 and Huang 1972).

The second strategy, the "rule governed strategy" is by far more important than the strategy of memorization. The rule governed strategy accounts for the overwhelming majority of the linguistic phenomena observed in human speech—i.e., novel, creative speech. It is to this type of language activity that generative transformational linguists have devoted much of their analysis. However, they generally have ignored the fact that imitation and memorization do play a role in acquisition of "automatic" or "formula" speech, which, may in turn, trigger "rule" acquisition.

Memorized phrases appear to be localized to both hemispheres of the brain much like other kinds of knowledge acquired by imitation (Wilkins 1972:161). These phrases appear to accumulate until memory load forces the formation of a generalization or a "rule" about a certain set of phrases. This hypothesis may be referred to as the two stage acquisition hypothesis.

The two stage acquisition hypothesis states that linguistic forms are initially stored in neural areas separate from the creative language center. Information in these initial language processing areas, if not attended to is forgotten. If some linguistic phrases are rehearsed often or used in some specific way, as with "formulas," they are retained in this area as independent speech responses. Seemingly only a relatively small number of like-forms can be stored in these initial language areas. When that number is exceeded for a particular form, the information apparently is analyzed, coded and stored in the creative language center in the form of a mental "rule" in the dominant hemisphere. The initial language processing area then returns to its original condition. In other words, overtaxed memory load is responsible for the generation, projection, and storage of mental linguistic "rules."

Detailed evidence in support of the two stage acquisition hypothesis comes from Huang (1972) who studied a four-year-old child, Paul, who had just arrived in the United States from China. Paul was enrolled in a play school and attended it every weekday morning. Huang's data are reproduced in Table 2.

The first column of Table 2 shows Paul's utterances which appear to be imitations and/or passive memorizations. They are almost always repeated immediately after a native speaker has said them. In the second column are Paul's creative or novel utterances—the first of which appeared in his sixth week in the United States.

Paul's first discernible English phrase was a repetition which occurred in his second week: "Get out of here!" Two days later,

Table 2. Two Concurrent Strategies in Second Language Acquisition.

Weeks	Often-repeated utterances appearing to be passive memorizations	Novel utterances appearing to be based on rule acquisition
1	φ	
2	Get out of here.*	
3	φ	
4	It's time to eat and drink.* Let's go. Don't do that. Don't touch.	
5	φ	
6	Are you read? See you tomorrow. Excuse me. Hold my hand.* Kenny, sit down.	This kite. Yeah, that bus.
7	Are you going too?* It's time to go home. Here we go.* Scoot over.*	Ball no. This money? Paper this. Cow This. Mother no. Tree no. no ball. Wash hand? Two eat.
8	I'll see you. You shut up What do you like? Hi, how are you?* We are going home.	Kenny car This good. This ball? This boat. This paper.

*Utterances repeated immediately after someone else had said them.

when another child tried to get a bike away from him, he remembered it: "Get out of here!" he said. It worked!

For the first month it appeared that Paul was learning by passive memorization exclusively. He might repeat a sentence immediately after the other person said it, or he might use it later in an appropriate situation. (Huang 1972).

During the second month a second kind of utterance appeared. In the column in Table 2 labeled "Novel utterances appearing to be based on rule acquisition," the same kinds of data which appear in English speaking first acquisition may be seen. Paul's formation of negatives, for example, such as "no ball" and later, "no ice cream" are the same as those of the first language learner at an elementary stage of acquisition (Klima and Bellugi 1966). They are very different from the "Don't do that!" or "Don't touch!" in the first column, "Often-repeated utterances appearing to be passive memorizations," which employs contractions, "neg-hopping," "you-deletion," and "do-support."

Two separate and very distinct strategies appear to be running side by side—speech by memorization on the one hand and rule-governed, creative speech on the other. After the twelfth week it became increasingly difficult to separate out the memorizations since Paul's rule acquisition activity moved so rapidly that it quickly caught up with the language he was memorizing passively.

The *telegraphic stages* of language acquisition have been observed in both first and second language acquisition (Dato 1971). Communication in these stages is somewhat like the abrupt language an adult uses in sending messages by telegraph, using only those words which are absolutely necessary to convey meaning (Brown and Fraser 1963:158).

In the *early telegraph* stage, children use certain two-word combinations, such as "my coat," "this baby," all-gone milk," et cetera (McNeill 1970:16–36; Braine 1963; and Ervin-Tripp 1974:112).

Martin Braine monitored the speech of a two-year-old child named Gregory. Braine's observations covered a seven-month period as Gregory entered the telegraphic stages. After the first month, Gregory had fourteen two-word combinations; by the end of the fourth month he had eighty-nine separate two-word combinations. He nearly doubled the number of combinations in each succeeding month for four months. Then something happened; by the end of the fifth month Gregory had nearly a fourfold increase from the previous month with three hundred and fifty combinations. At the end of the sixth month he had another fourfold increase (Braine 1963).

Figure 3, Acquisition of a Grammatical Rule, depicts by line graph this rapid increase in Gregory's repertoire of two-word combinations during a four-month period of time. The chart shows the dramatic increase in the number of these combinations by the end of the fourth month.

It is believed that during this fourth month Gregory acquired his first unconscious grammar "rule" or generalization. In other words, Gregory had "memorized" passively eighty-nine or so combinations before his mental language acquisition device (LAD) first noted the regularity of occurrence of the words in these combinations; and second, had developed a rule to properly combine these words.

The acquisition of this first rule, common in all children, marks the beginning of the *late telegraphic* stage. The fact that any new word can now be combined with known words following the rule just acquired means that the acquisition of a new lexical item increases, by the number of known lexical items, the possible number of new combinations. It is a small wonder that Braine stopped counting the two-word combinations after the seventh month.

Acquiring a grammar appears to be a constant process of passively analyzing, readjusting and adding to the previous "rules" of the grammar. Each "rule" is refined through frequent and constant hypothesis testing until the child arrives at a grammar which gives him the greatest cooperation with speakers in his environment (King 1969:72–75).

The normal acquisition of the past tenses of verbs further supports the two stage acquisition hypothesis. At first, children appear

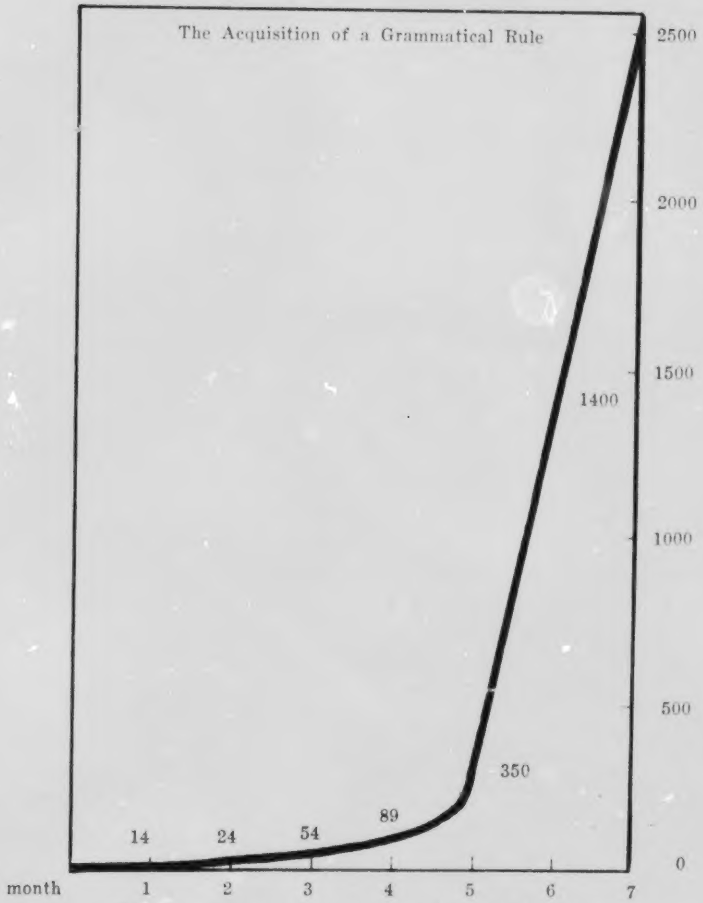


Figure 3. The Acquisition of a Grammatical Rule

to memorize the correct past tenses of the irregular or strong verbs ("ran" "went" et cetera). Later they appear to have acquired a rule which may run something like: "Add /t/ or /d/ appropriately to verbs for past activities." This rule is then applied to all verbs, and children produce *walked* and *kissed;* also now such incorrect forms, such as *goed* for *went* and *runned* for *ran* are produced. Later children appear to discover that the "strong" verbs are exceptions to their earlier hypothesis about the regularity of verbs in the past tense, and again they correctly produce went, ran, et cetera (Ervin 1964).

Further research should be conducted on the early speech of children to add greater weight to the proposed two stage acquisition hypothesis. One such experiment might be to collect two word combinations of a speaker entering the early telegraphic stage. These combinations could be recorded and matched against each other following procedures similar to those outlined in this paper. If the hypothesis is correct, one would predict that in the first weeks of this stage the subjects would have a left ear advantage for the combinations, indicating initial processing area or non-dominant hemispheric activity. Later, when a "rule" had developed these same combinations would show a right ear advantage from the same subject since, under the hypothesis, the information would be now coded and stored in the dominant hemisphere.

If the hypothesis is correct, the anecdotal notion that learning a second language requires a great deal of memorization will be validated. It should be pointed out that many moderately successful language teaching programs employ memorization to provide the learner with the necessary linguistic environment which enables him to generate a mental grammar of the target language.

The fact that educators continue to stress the need for memorization activity, coupled with the research presented in this paper, suggests that many of the behavioralistically motivated language teachers stressing memorization in hopes of changing language habits, perhaps were doing many of the right things for the wrong reasons.

References

Berlin, C., L. Hughes, S. Lowe-Bell, and H. Berlin. 1973. Dichotic right ear advantage in children 5 to 13. *Cortex*, 9: 393–402.

Bierler, Robert F. 1974. *Psychology Applied to Teaching.* Boston, Mass., Houghten Mifflin Co.

Bloom, L. 1970. *Language Development: Form and Function in Emerging Grammars.* Cambridge, Mass., M.I.T. Press.

Braine, Martin D.S. 1963. The ontogeny of English phrase structure: the first phase. *Language* 39, 1–13.

———. 1971. On two types of models of the internatization of grammars. *The Ontogenesis of Grammar; A Theoretical Symposium.* Ed. Dan I. Slobin. New York, Academic Press.

Brown, Grant T. 1969. In defense of pattern practice. *Language Learning*, Vol. XIX, Nos. 3 and 4, 183–197.

Brown, R. and U. Bellugi. 1964. Three processes in the child's acquisition of syntax. *New Directions in the Study of Language*. Ed. E. H. Lenneberg. Cambridge, Mass., M.I.T. Press, 131–161.

Carroll, J. B. 1966. Research in foreign language teaching: the last five years. Reports of the Working Committees of the Northeast. Ed. R. G. Mead. New York, Modern Languages Association, 7–58.

Chomsky, Noam. 1965. *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax.* Cambridge, Mass, M.I.T. Press.

Chastain, Kenneth. 1969. The audio-lingual habit theory versus the cognitive code learning theory: some theoretical considerations. *IRAL*, VII, 97–106.

Curtiss, Susan, Victoria Fromkin, Stephen Krashen, David Rigler, and Marilyn Rigler. 1974. The linguistic development of Genie. *Language*, Vol. 50, No. 3, 528–554.

Dale, Philip S. 1972. *Language Development: Structure and Function*. Hinsdale, Ill, Dryden Press.

Denes, P. B. and E. N. Pinson.. 1973. *The Speech Chain: the Physics and Biology of Spoken Language*. Garden City, New York, Anchor Press/Doubleday, 121–137.

Dixon, T. R. and D. L. Horton, eds. *Verbal Behavior and General Behavior Theory*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall.

Ebbinghaus, Hermann. 1964. *Memory*. New York, Dover Publications, Inc.

Ervin, Susan. 1964. Imitation and structural change in children's language. *New Directions in the Study of Language*, Ed. E. H. Lenneberg, Cambridge, Mass, M.I.T. Press, 163–189.

Fedio, Paul and John M. VanBuren. 1974. Memory deficits during electrical stimulation of the speech cortex in conscious man. *Brain and Language*, 1, 29–42.

Fromkin, V. A. 1975. Not all slips of the tongue are Freudian. UCLA Weekly, Vol. 5, No. 20, 1–4.

Fromkin, V., S. Krashen, S. Curtiss, D. Rigler. 1974. The development of language in Genie: a case of language acquisition beyond the critical period. *Brain and Language*, Vol. 1, 81–107.

Gallagher, W. K. 1971. Behaviorist and rationalist psychology and language teaching theory. *TESL Reporter*, Summer, 1–4.

——— and Mike Foley. 1975. *English for Koreans: Dialogues, Readings, Grammatical Explanations and Teacher Manual*. Laie, Hawaii, Hawaii Press.

Gazzaniga, Michael S. 1970. *The Bisected Brain*. New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts.

Gouin, F. 1892. *The Art of Teaching and Studying Language*. English translation by: Howard Swan and Victor Be'tis. London, G. Philip and Son.

Huang, J. 1972. *A Chinese Child's Acquisition of English Syntax*. MA thesis, UCLA.

Jackson, J. H. 1932. On the nature of duality of the brain. *Selected Writing of John Hughlings Jackson*, Ed. Taylor, James. London, Hodder and Stoughton.

Jakobovits, L. A. 1968. Implications of recent psycholinguistic developments for the teaching of a second language. *Language Learning*, Vol. 18.

Jung, John. 1968. *Verbal Learning*. New York, Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

Kausler, D. H. ed. 1965. *Readings In Verbal Learning*. New York, John Wiley and Sons.

Kimura, Doreen. 1961. Some Effects of temporal-lobe damage on auditory perception. *Canadian Journal of Psychology*, Vol. 15, No. 3, 156–165.

King, Robert D. 1969. *Historical Linguistics and Generative Grammar*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, 72–79.

Krashen, Stephen. 1973. Lateralization, language learning and the critical period: some new evidence. *Language Learning*, Vol. 23, No. 1, 63–74.

———. 1967. Language and the left hemisphere. Dissertation UCLA, Los Angeles.

——— and R. Harshman. 1972. Lateralization and the critical period. *Working Papers In Phonetics*, UCLA, 23: 13–21.

Kumar, V. K. Dec. 1971. The structure of human memory and some educational implications. *Review of Educational Research*.

Lado, R. and C. C. Fries. 1943. *English Pattern Practices, Establishing the Patterns As Habits*. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press.

Lakoff, Robin. 1969. Transformational grammar and language teaching. *Language Learning*, Vol. 19, 117–140.

Luria, A. R. 1974. Language and brain. *Brain and Language*, Vol. 1, 1–14.

McNeill, David. 1970. *The Acquisition of Language: The Study of Developmental Psychology.* New York, Harper-Row.

Milon, John P. June 1974. The development of negation in English by a second language learner. *TESOL Quarterly,* Vol. 8, No. 2, 133–137.

Newmark, Leonard and David A. Reibel. 1968. The necessity and sufficiency in language learning. *International Review of Applied Linguistics In Language Teaching,* Vol. VI, No. 2, 145–164.

Ousler, Fulton. 1952. *Modern Parables, Permabooks.* Garden City, New York, 307–310.

Paivio, Allan. 1971. *Imagery and Verbal Processes.* New York, Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

Penfield, W. and Roberts L. 1959. *Speech and Brain-Mechanisms.* Princeton, Princeton University Press.

Samelson, William. 1974. *English As A Second Language Phase One: Let's Converse.* Reston, Virginia, Reston Publishing Co./Prentice-Hall Co.

Steiner, Rudolf. 1970. *Education As An Art.* Blauvelt, New York, Rudolf Steiner Publications.

Van Lancker, Diana. April 1975. Heterogeneity in language and speech: neurolinguistic studies. *Working Papers In Phonetics 29,* Los Angeles, University of California.

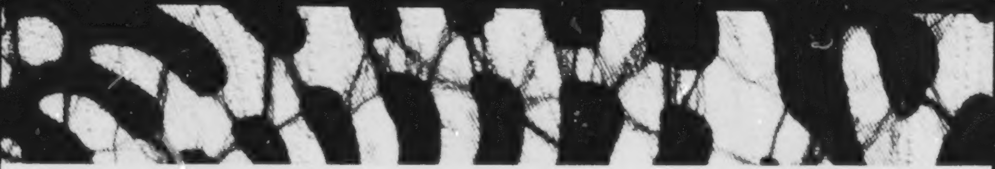
————. November 18–21, 1972. Language Processing In the Brain. Paper presented at the 1972 Annual Convention of the American Speech and Hearing Association in San Francisco.

Vetter, H. J. and R. W. Howell. 1973. Theories of language acquisition. *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research,* Vol 1, 31–64.

Waugh, N. C. and D. A. Norman. 1965. Primary memory. *Psychological Review,* Vol. 72: 89–104.

Whitaker, Harry A. Sept. 1969. On representation of language in the human brain. *Working Papers In Phonetics No. 12,* UCLA.

Wilkins, D. A. 1972. *Linguistics In Language Teaching.* Cambridge, Mass, M.I.T. Press.



The Silent Way

CALEB GATTEGNO

Although the three words of the title characterize only one aspect of our proposal to renew the teaching of foreign languages in schools and have now become a trademark of certain materials, their acceptance by the public throughout the world forces us to write and speak under the umbrella they constitute.

As a shock technique, the name is very effective when applied to the teachers, for language teachers are not used to being silent. Most people are puzzled that one would teach a language and say nothing. How would the students know what to say in the first place?

In my teaching of English as a second language, here is how I operate when I start with strict beginners. I present them with what I call the English Fidel. This is a set of 8 wall charts, each 16″ x 22″, on which are printed in color and in columns all the spellings that produce the 52 sounds I've isolated for English. I do not explain anything. I only ask those whose language uses the Latin alphabet to sound a shape I know belongs to their language, *a* or *ou* or *u* or *i* . . . according to which students I have. To other students whose writing is unrelated to that alphabet I bring their Fidel, if it exists (I have made 20 of them). For the others I simply have to give as few of the sounds as suffice to produce all the 21 vowel sounds of English, i.e. six in all.

Once these six sounds are elicited from the students and are well established and obtained by pointing at any of the signs in the six colors (covering sometimes up to 10 columns of the Fidel), we establish the diphthongs: for the word "eye" and "I," the name of the letter *a*, the word "you," the word "owe," the French word "ou" or the Spanish "u"; then we form strings of these signs that are English statements such as: "I owe you" or through involvement of consonants supposed readable or read by transfer from the Fidel of their language: "I sort out"—"you rate me"—"you are mine" etc.

Care is needed here not to refer to vowels not yet met. These include those made by shortening the utterance of sounds met, in particular short *ou* and short *i* as in "put" and "it," respectively. Two sounds from *e* (as in "pet") and *é* (as in "the") are obtained by particular distortion of *e* as in "there" and of *é* as in "her," both requiring an *r* after the vowel

---

This selection is based on teaching done in a demonstration lesson at the 1976 TESOL Convention. Caleb Gattegno helps people learn at Educational Solutions, Inc., 80 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10011.

We are left with 3 vowels, distinguished in English, but assimilable to some sounds in other languages: the sound of *o* in "come" is a variation of *a* in "la," the sound of *o* in "pot" is rendered by this same vowel, but a little flatter. There remains the sound of *a* as in "sat." This is difficult to produce by some students until they understand in their flesh that it is obtainable in uttering the *a* in "la" but wanting to say *e* as in "set."

Of course after every set of vowels, strings of sounds are made to produce words and then sentences. To practice short *i* for instance, the following are very helpful "it is in"—"is it it if it is in"—"his is this"—"it is in it"—"if this is it, it is in." For each new sound similar exercises are offered.

In fact, any English sentence can be created with the Fidel, and the students made to utter it without understanding the meanings of their utterances. This is anathema to teachers, but very effective with students who are told that this is the safest way of learning to speak a language like natives.

Soon after they manage to say with the proper sounds, stresses, phrases and intonation any example pointed out on the Fidel, the words that will describe the colored rods are shown and then each rod in turn is shown as the statements "a green rod" and similar statements with eight other colors are pointed out. Hence students who have heard no word said by their teacher can now say and understand, "a red rod and a blue one" and as many variations we can make.

An alternative to introducing the rods is to present the numerals in three sets, from 1–9 on one line, on another line their multiples by 10, and a third line their multiples by 100. According to the language there are different ways of teaching numeration. In English after 1–9 are introduced, practiced and known, we introduce 9ty or 90 and form 99-98 . . . to 91. Then in any order 40, 60, 70, 80 to form other numerals, leaving the irregular 50, 30, 20, 10 and 11, 12, 13, 15, 19, 18, 17, 16, 14 can be introduced by changing 10 into teen. There are enough numerals to give an enormous practice to uttering 3 figure numerals without the irregulars. These will be introduced later after numerals of 12 or 15 figures have been presented and spoken with ease, each in groups of three first, then in groups of six, nine, twelve, fifteen, e.g., 841, 777, 694, 375, 972 as the words thousand, billion, trillion are introduced.

We found that if we follow the study of the Fidel with the study of the numerals, students feel very much at ease with the flow of words and can practice improving their pronunciation very quickly because they understand everything. The rods help to make the vocabulary stick more easily since they become triggers of sounds. Soon after their names are fixed, the imperatives of three action verbs are used and long statements such as: "take a green rod, a blue one and a brown one, give one to him, one to me and put one here" can be obtained easily. In fact the vocabulary we introduce in the first lessons with the rods is printed on chart 1 with the colors met in the Fidel. So these 37 words can be spoken, read, written, and with them a large number of sentences can be made whose length goes from one word to over one hundred words.

Such practice induces independence and autonomy. The curriculum represented by the 12 word charts can give rise to a variety of sequences of lessons. The procedure can still be with a teacher that says no word. But there is no objection to the teacher telling once what needs to be introduced instead of showing it on the Fidel or the charts.

To cover that ground, forty hours may be plentiful. But even eighty hours is a cheap price to pay to meet the totality of the functional vocabulary which permits the exemplification of all the structures of English.

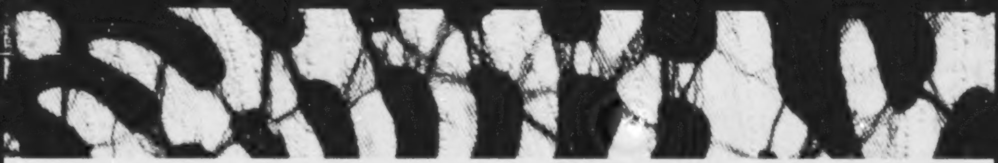
Hence we have with the Fidel, the rods, and the word charts, equipped our students with the essentials of English and a feel for the language while leaving the responsibility to the students for all their learning.

Expansion beyond that point is more conventional. Pictures and worksheets and an articulation with groups of sentences from the book "A Thousand Sentences" will make students acquire what I call "luxury vocabulary" to contrast it with the functional one of the beginning. Thirty hours may be sufficient for the study of the language connected with these materials. To acquire the several thousand words deliberately introduced in the thousand sentences may require more time. We are still well within an ordinary school year at school.

We follow these linguistic studies with literary studies involving short passages, short stories and filmstrips or slides. The time for this may be as elastic as wanted and even left out altogether if we aim at giving students only linguistic experience.

What is characteristic of the Silent Way is that all is done so that students (a) become their own teachers, understanding all the time what they have to do, (b) do it, and (c) become aware that they are doing it and why.

The techniques and materials help a great deal, but teachers must become sensitive to students and their learning rather than know the language and its grammar.



Research in Interlanguage: Syntax

BEVERLY K. HART and JACQUELYN D. SCHACHTER

I. INTRODUCTION

A. Background

At the beginning of the semester when college/university teachers of ESL structure face their new students, they often find that, even though students are eager to learn English and teachers are anxious to teach in as efficient a manner as possible, it is not always easy to obtain satisfactory results. In order to expedite the teaching/learning process as much as possible, the teachers need to find out fairly quickly which structures the students know and which ones they do not know (after all, they are not beginning ESL learners). But where is this information to be found? In most cases, the only source readily at hand is the placement test.

This is certainly the case at the American Language Institute (ALI) at the University of Southern California. Our university administers its own English proficiency exam, which includes objective machine scored tests in listening comprehension, grammar, reading and writing, augmented by oral interviews and compositions which are evaluated by senior ALI staff members. The test is similar in scope and orientation to more commonly used proficiency exams such as TOEFL, CELT, Michigan test, etc. Although USC does not accept as evidence of English proficiency scores from these widely known exams, many students do take the TOEFL exam and have the results sent to USC. Therefore, we have a fairly good idea of the TOEFL range of the students who are required to take our ESL courses.

USC Placement Level	TOEFL Score Range	Mean TOEFL Scores*
Intensive	400–450	435
Semi-Intensive	450–499	465
Advanced	500–549	528

(* of the students who report TOEFL scores to USC)

The function of all such exams, ours included, is to provide a standardized measure of proficiency to be used as the basis for placement-level in ESL classes. They are all designed to cover a wide range of English grammatical structures, and it is usually the total score

---

This selection is based on teaching done in a presentation at the meeting of the Applied Linguistics Special Interest Group at the 1976 TESOL Convention. Beverly K. Hart and Jacquelyn Schachter teach at the American Language Institute at the University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California 90007. The authors wish to thank the AID/NAFSA Liaison Committee for funding the research that made this study possible.

or total part score which determines the level of English courses the student is required to take.

These exams do have a function and they are useful. However, from the teachers' point of view, they leave a great deal unsaid. The test scores indicate only that the student has reached a certain proficiency level; they do not show *how* the student performed in order to reach that level. For any particular structure of English, for example, which the teacher may consider including in a syllabus and presenting in class, the teacher will not know if there will be students in the class who already use that structure appropriately, if there will be students who use it inappropriately, and if there will be others who will not use it at all. Proficiency exams give us *generalities*, when what we need are *details*. What would be of great benefit to every college and university ESL teacher would be characterization of those specific syntactic structures the students find relatively easy to produce, and those they have difficulty with.

Since language proficiency exams will not give us as teachers the information that we need, where can we look? One place we might look is in the area of research in second language acquisition. Here we find much that is useful to the teacher. However, much of what is now known about learner difficulties with regard to acquiring the particularities of English is at the level of morphology and simple sentence structures. Furthermore, college and university ESL teachers do not usually have absolute beginners in their classes; these students already have some proficiency in English. What is needed is information regarding learner attempts to incorporate complex structures into their productive ability in English.

It has long been known that learners from one language background will have more difficulty in acquiring certain parts of English structure than learners from another background. (Consider, for example, the differences between Japanese and Spanish learners in the acquisition of the English determiner system.) Some recent research indicates that language background has an influence on the ability of students to comprehend and produce other complex structures, as well.

A study done by J. Schachter (1974) shows that, with regard to relative clauses, learners from different language backgrounds respond differently in their attempts to incorporate the process of relativization into their productive capacity in English. The Persian learners in the study had incorporated relativization into their productive language and used it as often as a native speaker does, while the Japanese learners in the study responded negatively, using relativization rarely and selectively. Note that objective tests such as the TOEFL would not expose these differences. There are at least two reasons why.

The first reason is that these tests measure *recognition*, not *production*. A student may very well be able to recognize a structure as grammatical without having incorporated it into his productive ability. Teachers would not want to conclude that no further work on that structure was necessary. The second reason is that tests have the effect of neutralizing the differences between language groups which we know to exist. This neutralizing effect has several causes. For one, there are few test items on any one structure. Two, the choices that the students are given do not appear to be based on error analysis from specific language backgrounds. Three, the TOEFL scoring system does not provide information on wrong answers chosen.

What then will expose these differences? Our judgment is that compositions produced by students with selected language backgrounds will provide the data for an objective description of learner productivity. The information extracted from these data, we argue, is precisely the kind of information the teacher needs.

B. Description of Project

With this in mind, we decided to make a start at filling in the gap described above by analyzing student production of certain sentence constructions as exhibited in ALI placement exam compositions. Since we know that the large majority of students in ALI are already beyond the simple sentence level in their production of English, we chose not to focus on simple sentence structures, but rather on the analysis of the production of complex structures which will be described in detail a little later.

Each composition was analyzed in order to discover which constructions the learners use and whether they use them appropriately or not. The main thrust of the research concentrated on obtaining the kind of information that teachers currently lack with regard to the learner and his strategies [not just his errors, but on his total production (or non-production) of the structures we have chosen for inclusion in our project]. In sum then, we chose to focus on complex structures rather than on simple ones, and on total production, not just on errors.

We decided to study the productive ability of learners from five different language backgrounds: Arabic, Chinese, Japanese, Persian and Spanish. We selected 25 compositions at random from each language group at each of the three ALI levels. In all, 375 compositions of approximately 250 words each were analyzed.

The complex structures focused on are among those that are taught at all levels in ALI, but which are given major emphasis in our middle level grammar and writing classes. They are all instances of the type of subordinated constructions commonly called embedded constructions. The following structures were investigated:

1. Nominalizations.
    a. TO
        ex: My responsibility is *to schedule the visitors.*
    b. THAT
        ex: Another problem is *that most of the students can't read English.*
    c. ING
        ex: *Being a hotel manager* is not an easy job.
2. Relativization
    a. Relative-subject
        ex: The people *who live in Tehran* can spend their vacations in another city.
    b. Relative-object
        ex: The next places *which you will see* are Isfahan and Shiraz.
    c. Relative-object of preposition
        ex: First I have to tell you about the country *from which I came.*
    d. Relative-miscellaneous
        ex: College is a place *where people go to learn.*
        The reason *why I came . . . .*
        The man *whose name is Ghengis . . . .*
3. Noun Complements
    a. TO
        ex: English will give me *the strength to be ready.*
    b. THAT
        ex: The *reason we have the Dragon Boat festival is . . . .*
    c. ING
        ex: We should develop the *techniques of increasing the production of food.*
4. Verb Complements
    a. TO
        ex: Now I *want to compare* college life in Iran and America.
    b. THAT
        ex: I *can say I had a good weekend.*
        I *said that we have a long history.*
    c. ING
        ex: I *started laughing* and told him thank you.
        I *objected to his talking that way.*

The project involved the analysis of each composition with respect to the use of these structures and the tabulation of both the correct and incorrect occurrences of each structure. The incorrect responses were then classified as to error types. The totals of each construction were compared between levels and also between language groups. Tests were run to determine levels of statistical significance between language groups and between levels.

II. ASSUMPTIONS

There are two fairly generally accepted assumptions current today regarding the acquisition of syntactic structures that should be brought up at this point. The first assumption has to do with simplicity. It is generally assumed that simple structures are easy and are learned first, and that complex structures are harder and are learned later. We see no reason to challenge this assumption, and, in fact, we would like to extend it a bit and assume that, among embedded constructions, people learn simpler ones first and more difficult ones later. But this still needs to be checked out to establish an empirical basis for the assumption. Furthermore, it is not clear how one can tell, just by looking at English embedded constructions, which ones learners will perceive as being simpler.

If we can not tell by inspection just which structures the learner views as simple (easy to learn), how can we tell? One way would be to check with the learner. How can we do that? We propose that one can look at the data from learners at the beginning level of English proficiency to see if we can find out in terms of frequency which of these complex constructions the learner views as being simpler (easiest to learn). This will not give us compelling evidence, but from doing this, we do get some hints. Also we can identify the constructions which are produced infrequently at the lower level and which increase in frequency at the higher level.

The second assumption, in vogue nowadays, is that the more advanced the learner is, the less influence the structures of his native language have on his acquisition of the target language. Under this assumption, the difficulties a learner has are seen as a function of the complexities of the target language rather than as a function of the structures of his native language. Thus, the claim is that his problems become more and more *intra*-lingual and less and less *inter*-lingual. This assumption seems reasonable on the surface. But again, we have found no published data to provide an empirical basis for this assumption. We think, therefore, that it is challengeable.

Since there is evidence to show that native language background influences the acquisition of structures such as the determiner system and relative clauses in English, would it not be just as reasonable to assume that native language background influences the acquisition of other complex structures as well? We think so. The view of the learner would be that he compares complex structures in the target language with those in the native language. If the learner perceives those complex structures to be similar to those in the native language, he will have the tendency to acquire them early and use them frequently. If the learner perceives structures in the target language to be radically different from those in the native language, he will have the tendency to acquire them later, if at all, and use them selectively and with less frequency than those structures perceived to be similar to those in the native language.

III. PROTOTYPES OF THE BEGINNING AND ADVANCED LEVELS

In this paper we are presenting a kind of prototype of the beginning and advanced levels (Level I and Level III). Chart 1A shows the absolute frequencies of the major categories of the embedded constructions studied for each level. Chart 1B shows the frequencies of the sub-categories by language background and level. General trends are displayed.

RAW TOTALS OF EMBEDDED CONSTRUCTIONS PER LANGUAGE GROUP—BY LEVEL

Chart 1A

	Level I						Level III					
Construction	A*	C	J	P	S	Total	A*	C	J	P	S	Total
Rels	57	59	34	70	51	271	112	64	76	122	122	496
Noms	19	2	38	7	15	81	31	52	25	43	38	189
NC's	26	28	18	8	13	93	42	51	48	38	28	207
VC's	110	88	92	84	91	465	166	156	140	115	113	690
Totals	212	177	182	169	170	91[illegible]	351	323	289	318	301	1582

Chart 1B

	Level I						Level III					
Rels	A*	C	J	P	S	Total	A*	C	J	P	S	Total
Rel s	33	36	20	42	33	164	74	40	47	74	57	292
Rel o	20	12	5	17	10	64	21	12	8	31	37	109
Rel op	1	4	2	5	2	14	6	3	2	12	4	27
Rel misc	3	7	7	6	6	29	11	9	19	5	24	68
Rel Totals	57	59	34	70	51	271	112	64	76	122	122	496
Noms												
to	13	1	21	2	7	44	22	29	12	14	26	103
that	5	0	14	5	5	29	5	12	11	13	10	51
ing	1	1	3	0	3	8	4	11	2	16	2	35
Nom Totals	19	2	38	7	15	81	31	52	25	43	38	189
NC												
to	17	25	17	5	11	75	21	29	20	23	17	110
that	0	0	0	2	0	2	5	3	4	1	2	15
ing	9	3	1	1	2	16	16	19	24	14	9	82
NC Totals	26	28	18	8	13	93	42	51	48	38	28	207
VC's												
to	64	43	39	48	69	263	112	103	64	69	72	420
that	28	35	47	29	18	157	38	41	37	38	27	181
ing	18	10	6	7	4	45	16	12	39	8	14	89
VC Totals	110	88	92	84	91	465	166	156	140	115	113	690

* A-Arabic; C-Chinese; J-Japanese; P-Persian; S-Spanish

First, note that there are no appreciable differences between languages at a level in the absolute frequencies (total numbers) of the constructions produced, shown in the Totals Row of Chart 1A.

Second, note that at Level I, verb complements account for approximately 50% of all the complex embedded constructions produced by each language group (465-910). (See the Total Column in Chart 1A.) In addition, at this level relative clauses account for approximately 30% of the total embedded constructions in the study; and other embedded constructions account for the other 20%. Thus, if our assumption on simplicity is correct, learners in this study found verb complements and relative clauses easiest to learn of these complex embedded structures. In the relative clause category, relative subjects accounted for most of the relative clauses, and thus is considered to be easier to learn than the other types of relatives. In the verb complement category, the *C-to* type accounts for the largest number of occurrences and thus is to be considered as being easiest to learn.

The second part of Chart 1A gives absolute frequencies at Level III. Again note that there is no appreciable difference between languages at a level in total production. The statistical test results, by the way, tell us that there is a statistically significant difference between levels. Students do learn these structures as they are exposed to the language over a period of time.

Note also that the ratio of relative clauses to the total number of embedded constructions studied remains stable; the ratio of verb complements and nominalizations rise. So it seems that the last two categories represent the most difficult structures for these learners, because they are learned latest.

So far, we have shown a kind of prototype of "the learner at a level." But this obscures differences between language groups at a level and the test results tell us that there are statistically significant differences between learners from different language backgrounds with regard to their attempts to incorporate these complex embedded structures into their production of English.

How do learners from these five language backgrounds vary in their production of complex English structures? One way to see those variances is to look at the relative frequency of these constructions, given that there are no significant differences in absolute frequencies of total constructions produced. Figures 1A and 1B show the relative frequencies of the various constructions at Level I and Level III. Here we can begin to note language specific variation.

Chart 1A shows that in total numbers produced at Level I, verb complements make up 50% of all the embedded constructions included in the study. Figure 1A shows that this holds true for learners from each of the five language backgrounds at Level I. Chart 1A shows that relative clauses make up about 30% in the total numbers produced at Level I, but when one looks at Figure 1A, it is apparent that

Figure 1A

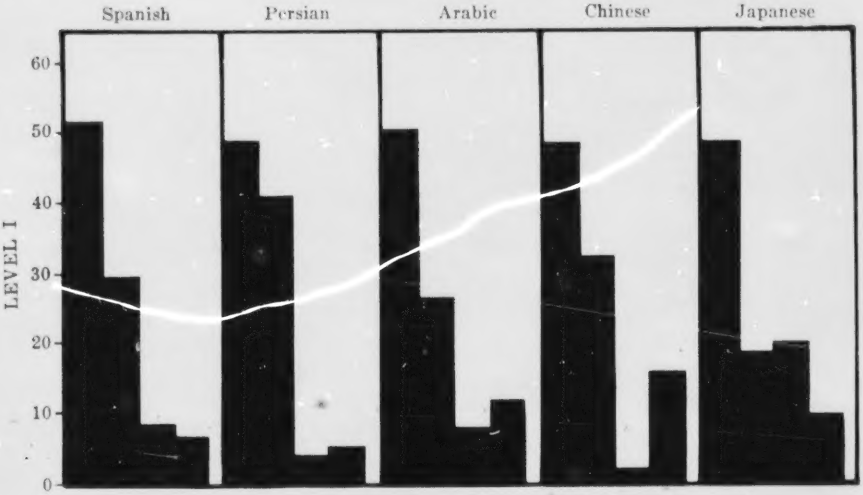
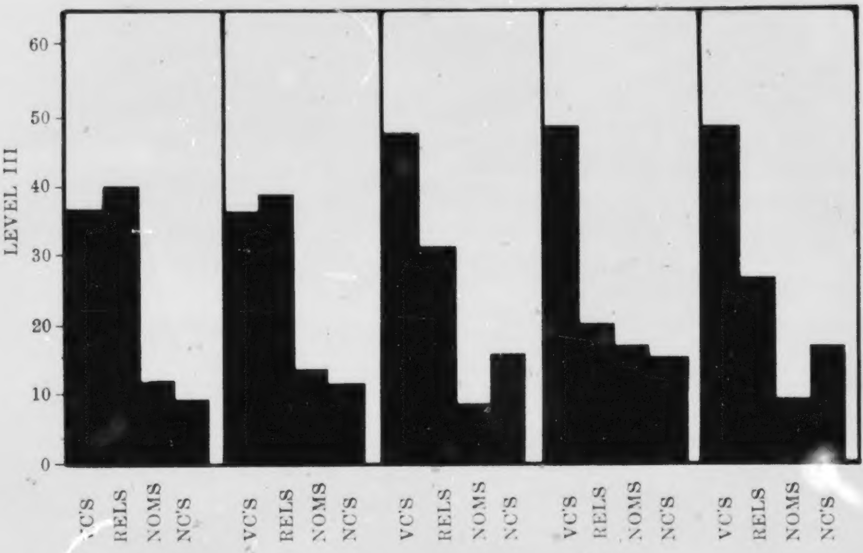


Figure 1B



the ratio of relative clauses to other embedded constructions varies with speakers from one language background to another. Thus, in Spanish learner production, relative clauses make up about 30% of all the embedded constructions, but for the Persian learners, the ratio goes up to 40%. The Arabic learners produced 26%; the Chinese 32%; the Japanese 18%. The Persian learners are the high producers at 40% and the Japanese low at 18%.

While the final 20% of the total number of embedded constructions is made up of nominalizations and noun complements, one can see how these are spread across language groups, with only the Japanese learners producing a significant number of nominalizations and the Chinese learners producing the largest number of noun complements.

Chart 1B shows the sub-categories of the various constructions and their frequency of occurrences. At Level I, starting with relative clauses, the Persian learners are the top producers and the Japanese learners are the bottom producers. The Persian learners produce 70 relative clauses and the Japanese produce 34. The Persian learners produce twice the number that the Japanese do. Note that this ratio of 2:1 holds for Relative-subject clauses (Persians 42; Japanese 20), and for Relative-object clauses (Persians 5; Japanese 2). But the other types of relative clauses show differing ratios: for Relative-object of prepositions, the Persian learners produce 17, the Japanese learners produce 5; for Relative-miscellaneous clauses, the Persian learners produce 6 and the Japanese learners produce 7.

By the time the learners have reached Level III proficiency, total production of relative clauses for the Japanese learners has increased to 76 and for the Persians, it has increased to 122. The total number of Relative-object clauses produced by the Japanese is almost the same at Level III as at Level I. The change from 5 to 8 is no increase at all. However, note that the Persian learners continue to produce Relative-object clauses at almost double the Level I rate.

In comparing the Arabic learners at Level I and Level III, it is apparent that in total production, the numbers of relative clauses double between levels. For Relative-subject clauses, they do a little better than double. But the Relative-object clauses stay the same: 20–21.

The production of relative clauses by Chinese learners does not change between Levels I and III (59–64). And even within the relative clause sub-categories, there are no appreciable differences between levels.

For the Japanese learners, while the totals go up (production is doubled), note that Relative-object clause production is stable: 2–2.

But there is a jump in the Relative-miscellaneous clause category: 7–19.

For the Persian learners, the Relative-miscellaneous clause category stays the same (6–5), but all other sub-categories go up.

While the Spanish learners' production of relative clauses goes up 139% overall, Relative-object of preposition clauses do not show a commensurately large increase. Also, Relative-subject clauses do not increase in as large a percentage.

The data on nominalizations show that at Level I, Chinese learners are non-producers of nominalizations, with a total of 2. At Level III, they are the top producers with a total of 52. The same trend exists for the Persian learners. They have a total of seven nominalizations at Level I and a total of 43 at Level III to become the second highest producers.

It is interesting to note that the Japanese learners at Level I produce a total of 38 nominalizations; at Level III, they produce 25. There is no obvious explanation for this. Not only do they not learn nominalizations from Level I to Level III, they seem to unlearn them.

As far as noun complements are concerned, the total production doubles between Level I and Level III. But the largest overall increase is in the noun complement-*ing* category (16–82), with the largest increase made by Japanese learners (1–24), and the Persian learners (1–14). The Persian learners made the largest increase in noun complement-*to* category (5–23).

IV. IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHING

What implications does this research have for the ESL teacher? As we see it, there are at least three.

First of all, it seems apparent that students in Level I college and university ESL classes know more than we had supposed about some complex English structures: the verb complements (especially the Verb *to* complements) and relative clauses (especially the Relative-subject clauses). We can probably eliminate, or at least drastically reduce, the amount of teaching time devoted to these constructions, and concentrate our time and energy and our students' time and energy on structures that are less well-known.

Second, it seems apparent that noun complements and nominalizations are acquired late. Thus, if we consider it important that students learn them, we must focus considerable classroom attention on them. But, at the same time, our expectations should be realistically set; these constructions will probably never be produced in large numbers.

Third, it seems apparent that the language background of the student must be taken into consideration when setting teacher expectations about what learners will produce. While individual students may vary, of course, it seems reasonable to expect that Japanese and Chinese learners will never produce relative clauses with the frequency and facility that Persian learners produce them. While these constructions should be taught, we should not expect that all learners will be able to acquire them in their productive skills equally well.

In conclusion, we think that more research in second language acquisition should focus on inter-language difficulties, and furthermore, that such research should produce results that have direct applications to language teaching. We hope that his research project is a small step in that direction.

Reference

Schachter, Jacquelyn D. 1974. An error in error analysis. *Language Learning* 24, 205-214.

An Integrated Approach to Pronunciation and Spelling in ESL Curricula

CLIFFORD A. HILL and JOHN S. RITTERSHOFER

I. INTRODUCTION: THE INTEGRATION OF ORAL AND WRITTEN MODES IN ESL CURRICULA

During the last fifteen years or so, there has been renewed interest in developing ESL curricula that deal with oral and written modes of expression in an integrated way. This interest may be viewed as a reaction to the audiolingual approach in which listening and speaking skills are developed before reading and writing skills. A basic assumption of the audiolingual approach is that language is primarily speech and only secondarily writing. As Lado (1964:131) puts it:

> We should never confuse a language with its writing system. Learning a writing system differs basically from learning to speak or understand a language. Learning to speak and understand means learning the language, whereas reading and writing imply that the language is known and that we are learning a graphic representation of it.

As a corollary to this assumption, it was held that the non-native speaker's experience of language acquisition should be modelled on the native speaker's, in which a firm grounding in oral language precedes the learning of written language.

In many ESL teaching situations, however, this model of language acquisition cannot be readily applied. If the students are adults who have already acquired reading skills in their own languages, they are eager to develop comparable skills in English. Indeed, for many students the development of reading skill is the fundamental goal in their study of English, for it provides access to bodies of information not always available in their own languages. As Rivers (1964: 112) points out, such students are strongly motivated to read and are best served by curricula in which skills for processing oral and written modes of language are developed simultaneously. She cautions, however, that "this does not mean the introduction of new materials for reading in the early stages, but rather the presenta-

---

This selection is based on teaching done in a workshop at the 1976 TESOL Convention. Clifford A. Hill teaches in the Department of Languages, Literature, Speech and Theatre, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, New York 10027; John S. Rittershofer is a student in the same department. The authors would like to thank Jay Maurer, Merry Sabet, Helaine Walker, Eric Larsen, and Jeanne Portnoy for their extensive contributions in developing curricula, a brief sample of which is outlined in Appendix A.

tion in written form of the limited materials which are being practiced orally."[1]

This renewed interest in developing integrated curricula has been stimulated not only by a more realistic appraisal of student needs, but also by a greater awareness of learning theory concerned with cross-modal integration of information. Put briefly, this theory holds that material is learned more efficiently if it is presented by means of multiple sensory modalities. Carroll (1966:105) describes this theory and its application to language teaching in the following way:

> The more numerous kinds of association that are made to an item, the better are learning and retention. . . . This principle seems to dictate against the use of systems of language teaching that employ mainly one sensory modality, namely, hearing.

It would appear, then, that a learner already literate in his own language makes more progress in acquiring a second language if, from the outset, oral and written materials are taught in an integrated manner.

II. GENERATIVE PHONOLOGY AND SOUND-SPELLING RELATIONS

It is admittedly easier to state the rationale for integrated curricula in ESL than it is to create them. Little progress has been made to date in developing and disseminating such curricula. This lack of progress is perhaps most clearly evidenced by the paucity of instructional materials that deal with pronunciation in relation to spelling. As Dickerson (1975a:299) points out,

> In the typical audiolingual pronunciation class, the focus of our oral-aural drill is on *how to articulate* the sounds of English. This is, however, only half of what we should be doing. No matter how well we may do this half, the student is still faced with a dilemma . . .: He does not know *when to use* the sounds he is learning. And in the typical ESL curriculum, we leave the student to solve this problem for himself.

It is clear that the ordinary ESL student is not in a position to solve this problem on his own, for the ways in which spelling represents sound are much less easily apprehended in English than in languages such as Spanish or Italian. Within the extensive tradition of research that employs a one-to-one model for phone-graph correspondence, the following conclusions have been drawn: the 24 consonant phonemes in English are realized by at least 176 different graphemes, the 14 vowel phonemes by at least 265 different graphemes. Moreover, a significant number of these graphemes represent more than one phoneme; for example, orthographic *a* may represent /æ/ as in *bad*, /ey/ as in *cadence*; /ɛ/ as in *many*, /a/ as in *father*, /ɔ/ as in *false*, and /ə/ as in *about* (Mazurkiewicz, 1976).

---

[1] In principle, the audiolingual approach is able to accommodate the early introduction of reading. In defending the audiolingual approach to reading, Scott (1966:543) points out:

> [It] does *not* exclude reading skill as one of its goals, but rather insists that, in the learning process, skill in speaking English must be achieved *before* skill in reading English can be properly realized. This, of course, does not mean that the two learning activities must be separated in time—only in order of presentation.

In practice, however, the two learning activities have been separated in time in many audiolingual curricula.

English spelling has acquired a bad reputation over the years because of this lack of direct correspondence between spoken and written segments. But as the Stanford spelling research project demonstrated, the writing system may be considered as relatively consistent in representing sounds if appropriate environmental factors are taken into account at various levels of language structure. Using only phonological factors of stress distribution and syllabic position, the Stanford project was able to predict phoneme-grapheme relationships with 84% accuracy in a 17,000 word sample (Hanna and Hanna, 1966). Although the importance of morphological, and even syntactic, factors was identified in this project, they were not incorporated in the computer algorithm on which the research was based.

The morphological factors that affect phone-graph relations are, however, centrally placed in the theoretical discipline of generative phonology, an approach that provides a new way of viewing the function of English orthography. According to the generative theory developed mainly by Chomsky and Halle (1968), the phonological component in language may be best described at two levels:

1) the surface of *phonetic representation*, on which pronunciation is based;
2) the more abstract level of *lexical representation*, on which orthography is based.

These two levels are related by phonological rules which specify the ways that lexical representations are altered to produce phonetic representations. The theory provides for a division of labor between lexical representation and phonological rules. The former includes the information that is relevant to individual morphemes, including an abstract spelling and notation of any special features. The phonological rules state generalizations that apply to classes of morphemes; that is, they specify those aspects of pronunciation that can be predicted by general rules. For example, the *g* in words like *sign* and *paradigm* is not pronounced; yet its presence signals a lexical relation to words like *signify* and *paradigmatic* in which it is pronounced. This relation is also preserved by orthographic *i*, which, according to a general rule, is pronounced as /ay/ in *sign* and *paradigm*, as /ɪ/ in *signal* and *paradigmatic*.

According to Chomsky, the spelling reforms proposed for English are not appropriate, for they are based on the misapprehension that writing should reflect the surface level of speech rather than the underlying lexical level. Chomsky (1970:12) claims that English orthography is, in fact, a well-designed system, providing focus on semantic properties rather than phonetic ones:

> Conventional English orthography is much closer than one might guess to an optimal orthography, an orthography that presents . . . the underlying lexical form of the spoken language. . . . Such an orthography leads directly to the semantically and syntactically significant units, abstracting away from all phonetic properties that are determined by general rule.

A lexically based orthography should, in principle, lead to greater efficiency in reading, for it signals semantic properties more directly, effecting, as it were, a bypass of the auditory perceptual mechanism used in the monitoring of speech.

This may be regarded as the strong claim of generative phonology with respect to English orthography. Chomsky and Halle (1968) have noted, however, that English orthography at times represents the surface level rather than the underlying level. For example, in related pairs of words such as *pirate* and *piracy*, *democrat* and *democracy*, *present* and *presence*, *resident* and *residence*, the alternation between the letters *t* and *c* reflects directly the surface forms /t/ and /s/. As Carol Chomsky (1975:332–333) observes, the classes of words in which English spelling represents the surface level should be taught as well as those in which it represents the more abstract level. Indeed, it can be argued that words in which spelling represents the surface level can be learned more efficiently if they are sharply contrasted with those in which it represents the lexical level. For example, the relation of the two letters *t* and *c* to /t/ and /s/ in the above class of words can be taught in contrast to the relation of the single letter *c* to /k/ and /s/ in related pairs of words such as *critic* and *criticism*, *public* and *publicize*, *medical* and *medicine*. The orthography functions consistently within each of the above patterns; it is merely operating on different levels, reflecting contrasting strategies that can be taught efficiently within the framework of generative phonology.

III. PROBLEMS IN APPLYING GENERATIVE PHONOLOGY TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF ESL CURRICULA

In recent years, strong arguments have been made for applying generative phonology in developing ESL materials that deal with pronunciation and spelling simultaneously (Schane, 1970; Wardhaugh, 1970; Kreidler, 1972; Dickerson, 1975a and b).[2] Yet little progress has actually been made, partly owing to the traditional ways in which pronunciation is taught in most ESL curricula. As Dickerson (1975a) notes, oral-aural drills are primarily used in focusing contrastively on sounds that non-native speakers tend to confuse, with little or no reference to the orthographic patterns that represent them. This failure to use written materials appropriately in pronunciation drills leaves many ESL students with impoverished knowledge of the systematic ways in which pronunciation and spelling are related to each other. Even if they do learn the articulatory contrasts that are presented in pronunciation drills, they are not necessarily in a position to apply that learning as they encounter new words in reading.

In addition to presenting pronunciation lessons without suitable written material, traditional ESL curricula often represent English sounds with visual symbols which, in certain cases, do not reinforce the dominant interrelations of English pronunciation and spelling. The visual symbols in these curricula are often phonemicized adaptations of IPA symbols, which are, in turn, drawn primarily from Latin script. The phonological values of IPA symbols parallel closely those associated with the corresponding letters as they function in European languages. As a result of certain sound changes in English (e.g., the Great Vowel Shift), the phonological values of certain IPA symbols are no longer the same as those associated with the corresponding letters in the English alphabet. Consider, for example, the IPA symbols used to represent the high front vowels. The tense vowel is represented as /i/, the lax vowel as /ɪ/. In English orthography, however, the letter *i* is closely associated with the lax vowel (e.g., the common pattern of *CiC* as illustrated in 'b*i*d'), not the tense vowel (ordinarily represented by an *e*-initiated digraph, either continuous, as in 'm*ee*t' or 'm*ea*t,' or discontinuous, as in 'm*e*t*e*').[3] These tense and lax vowels are often contrasted directly in pronunciation drills because of their minimal articulatory differentiation. Consequently, the use of /i/ to represent the tense vowel contradicts directly the predominant sound-spelling association that students should be learning.

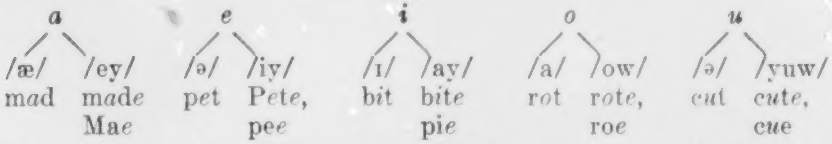
If ESL curricula make use of phonemic symbols that also function as letters in the English alphabet, these symbols should represent the same sounds that the corresponding letters ordinarily represent.[4] Each of the five orthographic vowels predictably signals a

---

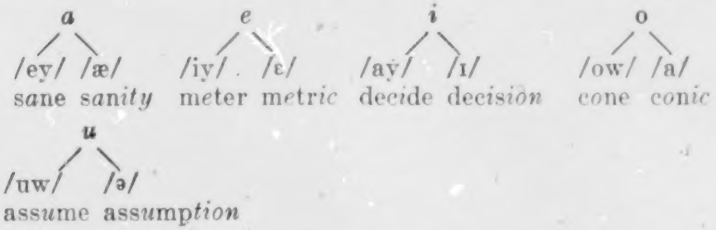
[2] There are some who have argued to the contrary. Hammerly (1971) claims that generative phonology cannot be applied in teaching pronunciation because it is abstract. It is, however, precisely from this quality that its pedagogical value derives. The abstract level is the appropriate one for understanding sound-spelling relations in a great many words. Hammerly further argues that the use of complex derivation, binary features, etc., would be of no value in teaching pronunciation. It is as though he has not understood that the technical apparatus of linguistic theory is seldom, if ever, applied directly in language teaching.

[3] Orthographic symbols will be underlined and phonemic ones placed between slant lines throughout this paper. The phonemic symbols are taken from the widely used *Manual of American English Pronunciation* (Prator and Robinett, 1972).

pair of vowel sounds, one a monophthong, the other a diphthong. As nearly every native speaker learns early in school, the series of monophthongs are regularly realized in a CVC-structure, the series of diphthongs in a CV(C)*e*-structure in monosyllabic words, as illustrated by the following diagram:[5]



Furthermore, each orthographic vowel may represent the same pair of vowel sounds in preserving underlying lexical form, as illustrated earlier by related pairs of words like *sign* and *signal*, *paradigm* and *paradigmatic*. This orthographic preservation of lexical form is represented in the following diagram,[6] which presents words first without affixes and then with different affixes such as *-ity*, *-ic*, and *tion:*



IV. ORTHOGRAPHICALLY MOTIVATED PHONEMIC SYMBOLS FOR ESL CURRICULA

A suitable choice of letters as phonemic symbols for English vowels can be a means of reinforcing the patterns of spelling illustrated

---

[4] Some analysts have completely avoided the use of letters as sound symbols. Michael West, for example, used numbers in his *New Method Dictionary* (1935). Allen, Allen and Shute (1966) developed an ESL curriculum in which the vowel sounds of English were represented by numbers instead of letters. They offer the following rationale for their avoidance of letters as sound symbols:

> Vowel symbols in phonetics too often look like ordinary vowel letters, yet do not behave as these letters behave in English spelling. Consequently, the use of phonetic symbols would impede a student's progress toward the objective which has been our main concern; to show students that English spellings do bear some reasonably consistent relationship to English sounds.

This rationale is not unlike our own; we have, however, opted for adapting phonemic symbols so that they correspond to dominant patterns of English spelling.

[5] There are, of course, exceptions to this rule. Since English words are not written with a final *v* (except for loan words such as *slav* or slang words such as *luv*), words ending in *ve* have unpredictable phonological values for the preceding orthographic vowel e.g., /ay/ as in *five* and /i/ as in *give*).

[6] In lexically related pairs, orthographic *u* does not signal a contrast between a diphthong and a monophthong as regularly as the other vowels do. As affixes such as *-ic* and *-ity* are added to words containing the letter *u*, the vowel ordinarily remains /yuw/ (e.g., *cube* and *cubic; pure* and *purity*).

in the above diagram. Since an orthographic vowel is predictably associated with two vowel sounds, a pair of diacritical marks must be used to distinguish the two ways it functions as a phonemic symbol. Perhaps the most convenient marks to use are the macron (¯) and the breve (˘), the symbols widely used in dictionaries. If students are taught these symbols, they are better able to determine the correct pronunciation of words they encounter in reading.

The ESL student described earlier, the one who reads widely, particularly needs to master dictionary symbols. Such a student builds up a large vocabulary from his reading, but he often does not know how to use the pronunciation symbols of a dictionary. Nor does he know the specific sound-spelling rules that would lead to an accurate pronunciation of the new words he is learning. As a result, he develops many incorrect 'spelling pronunciations' that may interfere with his auditory comprehension of these words as they are spoken by native speakers. On the other hand, native speakers may not be able to make out his mistaken pronunciation of these words. For example, if a student encounters the word *intricate* in reading, he may internalize a pronunciation with primary stress on the last syllable. If he then pronounces the word with a stressed /ey/ in the final syllable, he may not be understood. Conversely if he hears *intricate* pronounced with an unstressed /ə/ in the final syllable, he may not recognize the word.

The symbols outlined on the following page are recommended for the ESL classroom as a means of reinforcing the ones commonly used in dictionaries and thereby reducing 'spelling pronunciation' errors.[7]

The other four vowels in the English sound system should also be symbolized by the letters that are most frequently used to spell them, as illustrated here:

Phonemic Symbols Used in Prator and Robinett (1972)	Orthographically Motivated Symbols	Examples
/oy/	/oi/	*boil*
/aw/	/ou/	*out*
/ʊ/	/oo/	*good*
/ɔ/	/aw/	*law*

These choices are based on data in the Dewey study (1971) of the relative frequency of English spellings. He finds, for example, that the relative frequency of:

---

[7] The macron and the breve are commonly assumed to represent the features of length and shortness in vowels. But as they are used here, they do not represent the actual duration of vowels, which are conditioned by factors such as [± voicing] in the following segment. They do, however, represent the real distinction between diphthongs and monophthongs.

Letter	*a*		*e*		*i*		*o*		*u*	
Orthographically Motivated Phonemic Symbols*	/ă/	/ā/	/ĕ/	/ē/	/ĭ/	/ī/	/ŏ/	/ō/	/ŭ/	/ū/
Phonemic Symbols Used in Prator and Robinett (1972)	/æ/	/ey/	/ɛ/	/iy/	/ɪ/	/ay/	/a/	/ow/	/ə/	/yuw/
Monosyllabic Words	mad	mad*e*	pet	Pet*e*	bit	bit*e*	rot	rot*e*	cut	cut*e*
Lexically Related Words	san*ity*	san*e*	metr*ic*	met*er*	divin*ity*	divin*e*	con*ic*	con*e*	assump*tion*	assum*e*

12

---

* One symbol that is not orthographically motivated remains: /ə/ is used to represent reduced vowels in unstressed syllables.

1) /oi/ realized as *oi* is 69.5%, as *oy* 30.5%;
2) /ou/ realized as *ou* is 74.2%; as *ow* 21.9%.[8]

V. A SAMPLE CURRICULUM INTEGRATING MATERIALS ON ARTICULATORY CONTRASTS AND ON SOUND-SPELLING RELATIONS

Materials on articulatory contrasts and on sound-spelling relations should, as much as possible, be integrated in ESL curricula. The vowel sounds minimally differentiated in articulatory space do not coincide with the ones minimally differentiated in the orthographic code. In articulatory production and auditory reception, /ē/ and /ĭ/ are minimally differentiated; in spelling pattern /ē/ and /ĕ/ are minimally differentiated.[9] Nevertheless, these two pairs overlap, each including /ē/ as a contrasting element. Consequently, materials on these two pairs can be profitably juxtaposed in ESL curricula. The following order of lessons is offered as a sample of curricular integration with respect to front vowels. Materials on articulatory contrasts (/ē/ versus /ĭ/, /ĭ/ versus /ĕ/, /ĕ/ versus /ă/) and on sound-spelling relations (/ē/ and /ĕ/ to the letter *e*, /ī/ and /ĭ/ to the letter *i*, /ā/ and /ă/ to the letter *a*) are alternated.

LESSON I:	Articulatory Contrast Between /ē/ and /ĭ/
LESSON II:	Relation of /ē/ and /ĕ/ to the Letter *e* in Monosyllabic Environments
LESSON III:	Relation of /ē/ and /ĕ/ to the Letter *e* in Multisyllabic Environments
LESSON IV:	Integration of Materials in Lessons II and III
LESSON V:	Articulatory Contrast Between /ĭ/ and /ĕ/
LESSON VI:	Integration of Materials in Lessons I and V (Articulatory Contrasts among /ē/, /ĭ/, /ĕ/)
LESSON VII:	Relation of /ī/ and /ĭ/ to the Letter *i* in Monosyllabic Environments
LESSON VIII:	Relation of /ī/ and /ĭ/ to the Letter *i* in Multisyllabic Environments
LESSON IX:	Integration of Materials in Lessons VII and VIII
LESSON X:	Articulatory Contrast Between /ĕ/ and /ă/
LESSON XI:	Integration of Lesson V and X (Articulatory Contrasts among /ĭ/, /ĕ/, /ă/)

---

[8] In the study by Dewey (1971), /ɔ/ is, in fact, represented most frequently by the letter *o*. The /ɔ/ — *o* correspondence, however, is highly context-sensitive; it ordinarily occurs only before orthographic *r*, in a word like *for*. Furthermore, the use of the letter *o*, plus another diacritical mark, to represent /ɔ/ would skew the symmetrical pattern established by the use of V̄ and V̆. Consequently, *aw* has been selected, the digraph most commonly associated with /ɔ/.

[9] With respect to the first pair, interference arises from the non-native sound system; with respect to the second, from non-native sound-spelling relations.

LESSON XII: Integration of Lessons I, V, VI, X, and XI (Articulatory Contrasts among /ē/, /ĭ/, /ĕ/, /ă/)
LESSON XIII: Relation of /ā/ and /ă/ to *a* in Monosyllabic Environments
LESSON XIV: Relation of /ā/ and /ă/ to *a* in Multisyllabic Environments
LESSON XV: Integration of Lessons XIII and XIV

This kind of curriculum can be presented either in the classroom or in a language laboratory. The laboratory offers certain advantages: students can do only the lessons they need, and they can repeat lessons on their own. Furthermore, the teacher can use classroom time to reinforce articulatory contrasts and sound-spelling relations as the students focus on other dimensions of language learning.

The curriculum can, however, be presented in the classroom. Ideally, each lesson should be only ten to fifteen minutes, functioning as a small component among larger ones. Sample materials for Lessons I and II are outlined in Appendix A in order to illustrate the different ways in which oral and written materials can be related in articulatory drills as well as in sound-spelling drills.

In conclusion, we would like to restate the rationale for an integrated approach to pronunciation and spelling in ESL curricula. First, many students expand their word knowledge through reading. A knowledge of sound-spelling relations in English enables them to internalize correct pronunciations for new words they encounter; it also contributes to auditory comprehension of these words as they are used by native speakers. Secondly, an integrated presentation of the same linguistic material contributes to effective learning: the auditory and the visual modalities reinforce each other. And lastly, the theory of generative phonology provides a clear framework for teaching sound-spelling relations in lexically related words. As nonnative speakers master these relations, they expand their semantic knowledge as well as their phonological knowledge of the English language.

References

Allen, Robert L., Virginia French Allen and Margaret Shute. 1966. *English sounds and their spellings*. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell.

Carroll, John B. 1966. The contributions of psychological theory and educational research to the teaching of foreign languages. *Trends in language teaching* (ed., Albert Valdman). New York, McGraw-Hill.

Chomsky, Carol. 1970. Reading, writing, and phonology. *Harvard Educational Review*, 40, 2, 287–290.

Chomsky, Noam. 1970. Phonology and reading. *Basic studies on reading* (eds., Harry Levin and Joanna P. Williams). New York, Basic Books.

Chomsky, Noam and Morris Halle. 1968. *The sound patterns of English*. New York, Harper and Row.

Dewey, Godfrey. 1971. *English spelling: roadblock to reading.* New York, Teachers College Press.

Dickerson, Wayne B. 1975a. The *wh* question of pronunciation: an answer from spelling and generative phonology. *TESOL Quarterly*, 9, 3, 299–309.

———. 1975b. Predicting word stress: generative rules in an ESL context. Manuscript.

Hammerly, Hector M. 1971. Teaching pronunciation and generative phonology. *Foreign Language Annals*, 6, 4, 487–489.

Hanna, Paul R. and Jean S. Hanna. 1966. Applications of linguistics and psychological cues to the spelling course of study. *Research on Handwriting and Spelling.* Champaign, Ill., NCTE.

Kreidler, Charles W. 1972. Teaching English spelling and pronunciation. *TESOL Quarterly*, 6, 1, 3–12.

Lado, Robert. 1964. *Language teaching: a scientific approach.* New York, McGraw-Hill.

Mazurkiewicz, Albert B. 1976. *Teaching about phonics.* New York, St. Martin's Press.

Prator, Clifford H., Jr. and Betty Wallace Robinett. 1972. *Manual of American English pronunciation.* New York, Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

Rivers, Wilga. M. 1964. *The psychologist and the foreign-language teacher.* Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Schane, Sandford. 1970. Linguistics, spelling, and pronunciation. *TESOL Quarterly*, 4, 2, 137–141.

Scott, Charles T. 1966. The linguistic basis for the development of reading skill. *The Modern Language Journal*, L, 8, 535–544.

Wardhaugh, Ronald. 1970. An evaluative comparison of present methods for teaching English phonology. *TESOL Quarterly*, 4, 1, 63–72.

West, Michael. 1935. *The new method English dictionary.* London, Longmans.

APPENDIX A

LESSON I—ARTICULATORY CONTRAST BETWEEN /ē/ AND /ĭ/

A. Contrast Between Sounds in Isolation
   1. The teacher displays visual symbols /ē/ and /ĭ/, articulating each sound in relation to its symbol while the students listen.
   2. The teacher articulates each sound in relation to its symbol; the students repeat.
   3. The teacher points to each visual symbol; the students give the corresponding sound.

B. Contrast Between Sounds in Isolated Words
   1. The teacher writes /ē/ and /ĭ/ on the blackboard, numbers them 1 and 2, and asks the students to give words that contain each sound plus the number of that sound; the teacher writes these words on the blackboard, using separate columns for different spelling patterns, as illustrated below:

	1 /ē/		2 /ĭ/
e-e	*ee*	*ea*	*i*
these	**feet**	**read**	**this**
theme	**seem**	**clean**	**fit**
mete	**meet**	**meat**	**sing**

   2. The teacher pronounces words containing one of the two sounds; the students call out 1 or 2 to indicate which sound the word contains.
   3. The teacher displays flash cards such as the following:

/ē/
f___t

The students pronounce the visually cued words.

C. Contrast Between Sounds in Words in Controlled Context
   1. The teacher shows pictures and asks questions; the students respond.

'What is John doing?'
'He's drinking.'

2. The teacher displays words on flash cards and then asks questions: the students respond to the questions, using the words on the flash cards.

hit	'What did Mary do?' 'She hit her brother.'

D. Contrast Between Sounds in Words in an Uncontrolled Context
A brief conversation between the teacher and the students is recorded. The students listen to the recording, transcribing all words that contain /ē/ or /ĭ/ in separate columns and noting any errors in pronunciation.

LESSON II—RELATION OF /ē/ AND /ĕ/ TO THE LETTER *e* IN MONOSYLLABIC ENVIRONMENTS

A. Sound-Spelling Relations in Isolated Words
1. The teacher holds up a flash card with a word *CeC*-structure and pronounces it; the students repeat. The teacher writes the word on the board in column 1 under the symbol /ĕ/.
2. The teacher adds a final e to the flash card used in Step 1 to form a word of *CeCe*-structure; the teacher pronounces the word and the students repeat. The teacher writes the word on the board in column 2 under the symbol /ē/.
3. The teacher repeats the above procedures with a word of *CeeC*-structure, placing it in column 3 under the symbol /ē/.
4. The teacher repeats the same procedures with a word of *CeaC*-structure, placing it in column 4 under the symbol /ē/.

/ĕ/		/ē/	
e	*e-e*	*ee*	*ea*
pet	Pete	beet	team
met	these	seed	seat
bed	mete	meet	meat

5. The teacher shows new words on flash cards; the students pronounce the words and write them in the appropriate columns.
6. The teacher elicits general rules from the students, guiding them in establishing the most general relation among *CeCe*, *CeeC*-, and *CeaC*-structures (i.e., the letter *e* is the first component of a vowel digraph, either continuous or discontinuous).

B. Sound-Spelling Relations in Words in a Controlled Context
The teacher presents a story in which words containing the /ē/ and /ĕ/ sounds have been replaced by blanks. The students fill in the blanks with words selected from a list. If necessary, students can be given the first letter of each word as an additional cue.

C. Sound-Spelling Relations in Words in an Uncontrolled Context
Students write a paragraph on a selected topic. They exchange paragraphs. They select all words containing the /ē/ and /ĕ/ sounds and list them in columns according to spelling pattern. Students correct all misspelled words.

Native Language and Black Dialect Interference in the Oral Reproduction of Standard English by Puerto Rican Pupils

ANN JOHNSON, ROLAND AXELSON, LORENE LUGO, and PERRY ZIRKEL

Several sociolinguists (Fishman 1966, 1972; Gumperz 1964; Hymes 1967; Labov *et al.* 1968; Malkiel 1964) have indicated the importance of social interaction on linguistic change. It has been historically demonstrated that when groups of people with different linguistic systems come into contact, forms of interference, such as borrowing and pidgoonization, often result (Cooper 1971; Hunt 1967; Lawton 1971; Weinrich 1968).

It has been recognized that Puerto Ricans on the mainland often encounter a lack of social interaction with the standard English community (Dworkis 1957; Fitzpatrick 1971). Rather, they tend to live in predominantly Puerto Rican and or Black communities with these housing patterns often being reflected in segregated schools (Coleman *et al.* 1965).

The influence of the native language of Puerto Rican pupils upon their performance in English has also been investigated (Axelson and Campbell 1973; del Rosario 1971; Varo 1971). Similarly, the interference of Black dialect upon the academic achievement of Black pupils has been the subject of considerable study (Baratz and Shuy 1969; Bradley 1971; Dillard 1971; Fasold and Shuy 1970; Johnson 1971; Stewart 1965).

However, the relative influences of both the native language and Black dialect upon the oral English performance of Puerto Rican pupils has not been appropriately recognized and investigated. In their landmark study of Black dialect, Labov *et al.* (1968) grouped their relatively few Puerto Rican subjects as undifferentiated from their Black subjects. More recently, Reinstein and Hoffman (1972) studied the extent of Black dialect interference in the aural-oral English performance of Puerto Rican pupils in insulated and interacting school groupings. However, both studies neglected the relative effect of the native language background of their pupils. Moreover, neither study assessed the effects on the scholastic performance of these pupils.

The purposes of the present study were 1) to determine the relative effects of the native language and Black dialect influences on the oral

---

This selection is based on teaching done in a presentation at the 1976 TESOL Convention. Ann Johnson is a student at the University of Florida, University Station, Gainesville, Florida 32601; Roland Axelson and Lorene Lugo are teachers at the Ann Street Bilingual School, 321 Ann Street, Hartford, Connecticut 06103; Perry Zirkel teaches in the College of Education, University of Hartford, West Hartford, Connecticut 06117.

English performance of Puerto Rican pupils, and 2) to assess the relationship of these sources of linguistic interference with aural ability in English, reading ability in English, and time in mainland schools.

METHODS

Subjects

The sample consisted of 80 Puerto Rican pupils, in grades two through four in a predominantly (95 percent) Puerto Rican bilingual school in a central Connecticut city. The subjects were approximately equally distributed with respect to sex, language dominance, and grade level.

Instrumentation

The oral repetition technique was utilized to determine the relative extent of Spanish and Black dialect interference. Oral repetition has been found to be an effective technique for measuring Black dialect interference (Baratz 1968; Bradley 1970, 1971; Garvey and McFarlane 1970; Lawhon 1973) and Spanish interference (Mazon 1973; Natalicio and Williams 1971; Ott 1967; Taylor 1969), respectively.

The oral repetition instrument consisted of ten model sentences. These ten sentences were constructed so as to each contain one identifiable point of Black dialect interference and one identifiable point of Spanish dialect interference. Special care was taken to avoid overlapping points of interference (e.g., absence of third person singular -s of standard English as attributable to tendency to aspirate final consonant in Puerto Rican Spanish as well as to structure of Black dialect). Due to this factor and the results of pilot testing, the points of interference were based on phonological features, not morphological features. The target points of respective phonological interference were selected according to concurrence among previous studies of Black dialect (Baratz 1968; Baratz and Povitch 1968; Fasold and Wolfram 1972; Hoffman 1970; Johnson and Simons 1973; Labov *et al.* 1968; Legum 1971; Pfaff 1971; Sullivan 1971) and Spanish/English contrasts (Allen 1965; del Rosario 1971; Davis 1972; Natalicio and Williams 1971; Saville and Troike 1971; Stockwell and Bowen 1976; Troike 1972), respectively. The ten model sentences were recorded on tape by a female speaker of standard English. Based on the audiovisual feature of the *Gloria and David Oral Language Test* (Bordie 1970), pictorial stimuli were used to direct attention to and reinforce retention of the model sentence.

The *Inter-American Test of Reading*, Level II, Form LE, was used to assess reading ability in English. The oral vocabulary subtest of the *Inter-American Test of General Ability*, Level II, Form LE, was used to assess aural ability in English. Both of these tests have been widely used with Spanish-speaking students (National Consortia 1971).

Time in mainland schools was determined by individual interviews with the students along with an examination of their cumulative record cards.

Procedure

The oral repetition test was administered individually by three bilingual examiners. Instructions were given in English and repeated in Spanish. The students were then given two introductory practice sentences. Upon demonstrating that they understood the task of repetition, they were given the ten model sentences on tape with each sentence accompanied by a picture. The sentences were played once. If the subject was unable to repeat a particular sentence, he was told to go on. All responses were recorded on tape.

During a pilot test of the instrument the three examiners worked together to maximize uniformity of administration and interrater reliability in scoring. On a subsequent sample of ten subjects not used in this study, the three examiners achieved a high interrater reliability among themselves and with a trained ESL linguist.

A ratio scoring system was used to correct for the limited no-response factor. If a subject failed for some reason (e.g., momentary distraction, insufficient short-term memory) to repeat the segment of a model sentence which contained the target point of interference, it left undetermined whether the subject would have fallen into the "trap" had he completed the repetition task. Consequently, the students' scores were determined for Spanish and Black dialect, respectively, by dividing the number of traps activated by the number of traps attempted. For example, if a subject repeated the sentence segments containing nine of the ten points of Black dialect interference and he transformed six of them into Black dialect, his score would be .67.

RESULTS

The mean score for native language interference was .29, while that for Black dialect interference was .47. The difference between these two means was significant beyond the .01 level ($t = 3.53$).

The relationship between the respective interference scores and the variables of time in mainland schools, aural ability in English, and reading ability in English are reported in Table I. As shown in Table I, there was a statistically significant positive correlation between degree of Black dialect interference and time in mainland schools and a statistically significant inverse correlation between degree of Black dialect interference and reading ability in English. Further, there was a statistically significant inverse correlation be-

TABLE I
Relationship Between Interference Scores and Selected School-Related Variables

	Black Dialect Interference	Native Language Interference	Time in Mainland Schools	Aural Ability English
Native Language Interference	.20			
Time in Mainland Schools	.25*	−.19		
Aural Ability in English	−.11	−.32**	.29**	
Reading Ability in English	−.34**	−.20	.11	.47**

* $P < .05$
** $p < .01$

tween degree of Spanish interference and aural ability in English. There was an inverse relationship which approached but did not attain statistical significance between degree of Spanish interference and 1) reading ability in English and 2) time in mainland schools. Finally, time in mainland schools was significantly related to aural ability in English but not to reading ability in English.

DISCUSSION

Due to the difficulties of attaining cross-cultural and inter-linguistic equivalence, statistical comparisons between the native language and Black dialect influence on the oral reproduction of standard English by Puerto Rican pupils should be viewed with caution. However, the notable presence of both sources of interference points up the need to consider a tri-linguistic contrastive model rather than merely a bilingual or bidialectal model in the education of Puerto Rican pupils.

Although the school milieu of the subjects of the present study was what Seinstein and Hoffman (1972) termed "insulated" rather than "interacting" vis-à-vis" the Black student population (95 per cent Puerto Rican, 3 per cent Black), the subjects evidenced a notable degree of Black dialect interference comparable with, if not greater than, their native language interence. This effect may be attributable not only to direct social contact with the Black population in the neighborhood, but also to indirect contact ("ripple effect") via parents and older peer models.

This conclusion is reinforced by the significant relationship between time on the mainland and extent of Black dialect interference. Although time in mainland schools is not a complete indicator of time on the mainland, especially for pupils in the lower grades, it does reflect a cumulative social effect of change not only toward English ability but also toward a non-standard dialect of English.

The low and statistically non-significant relationship between length of time spent in mainland schools and reading ability achieved in English underlines the disappointing lack of success of mainland schools in teaching Puerto Rican pupils to read English. The highly significant inverse relationship between the degree of Black dialect interference and reading ability in English and the relationship approaching significance between the degree of native language interference and reading ability in English point up the need to explore more systematic approaches to the teaching of reading in American schools to Spanish-speaking students. In endeavoring to bridge this gap, recent efforts to explore the vernacular approach to teaching Spanish-speaking students (Thonis 1972) and the bidialectal approach of teaching reading to Black students (Baratz and Shuy 1969; Bradley 1970; Dillard 1971; Johnson and Simons 1973; Rystrom 1968; Sullivan 1971; Wiggins 1970) should both be considered.

Black dialect interference among Spanish-speaking students is a relatively unexplored area with important implications for the teaching of standard English. Such research should be extended to further factors (e.g., relationship to attitudes and identity) as well as to other settings (e.g., Spanish-speaking pupils in the Midwest and Southwest). Given the increasing segregation of minority group children in American inner-city schools, a more comprehensive, intensive, and systematic view of the linguistic, psychological, and cultural interference (Saville 1971) these pupils encounter in trying to acquire and utilize standard English is a paramount priority.

Bibliography

Allen, H. 1965. *Teaching English as a second language.* New York: McGraw-Hill.

Axelson, R. and Campbell, A. 1973. Historical causes, theoretical implications, and practical approaches for dealing with "Spanglish." Unpublished paper. College of Education, University of Hartford, West Hartford, CT.

Baratz, J. 1968. A bi-dialect test for determining language proficiency. Unpublished manuscript, Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington, D.C. ERIC ED 020 519.

Baratz, J. and Povich, E. 1968. Grammatical constructions in the language of the Negro preschool child. Center for Applied Linguistics and the Montgomery County Public Schools, Washington, D.C. ERIC ED 020 518.

Baratz, J. and Shuy, R. (eds.). 1969. *Teaching black children to read.* Washington, D.C., Center for Applied Linguistics.

Bordie, J. G. 1970. Language tests and linguistically different learners. *Elementary English, 47*, 814-828.

Bradley, N. R. 1970. A study of the relation of oral language proficiency and reading in a group of fourth grade Negro children of a French linguistic background. Master's thesis, College of Education, University of Texas at Austin. ERIC ED 046 618.

———. 1971. A two-year investigation of the relation of oral language proficiency and reading achievement of first grade children with a French linguistic background. Doctoral dissertation, College of Education, University of Texas at Austin. ERIC ED 064 746.

Coleman, James *et al.* 1965. Equality of educational opportunity. Washington, D.C., U.S. Office of Education.

Cooper, R. L. 1971. Degree of bilingualism. In J. A. Fishman (ed.). *Bilingualism in the barrio.* Hague, Netherlands, Mouton. 273–311.

Davis, A. L. 1972. English problems of Spanish speakers. In D. Shores (ed.). *Contemporary English: Change and variation.* Philadelphia, Lippincott. 123–133.

de Rosario, R. 1971. *El español de America.* Sharon, CT, Troutman Press.

Dillard, J. L. 1971. *Black English.* New York, Random House.

Dworkis, M. (ed.). 1957. *The impact of Puerto Rican migration on governmental services in New York City.* New York, New York University Press.

Fasold, R. W., and Shuy, R. (eds.). 1970. *Teaching standard English in the inner city.* Washington, D.C., Center for Applied Linguistics.

Fasold, R. W. and Wolfram, W. A. 1972. Some linguistic features of Negro dialect. In D. Shores (ed.). *Contemporary English: Change and variation.* Philadelphia, Lippincott. 53–85.

Fishman, J. A. (ed.). 1966. *Language loyalty in the United States.* Hague, Netherlands, Mouton.

———. 1972. *The sociology of language.* Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Fitzpatrick, J. P. 1971. *Puerto Rican Americans: The meaning of migration to the mainland.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ, Prentice Hall.

Garvey, C. and McFarlane, P. 1970. A measure of standard English proficiency of inner-city children. *American Educational Research Journal, 7,* 29–39.

Gumperz, J. 1964. Linguistic and social interaction in two communities. In J. Gumprez and D. Hymes (eds.). *The ethnography of communication.* Menasha, Wisconsin, American Anthropological Association. 137–153.

Hoffman, M. J. 1970. The segmental and suprasegmental phones, phonemes, and morphophones of an Afro-American dialect. Doctoral dissertation, State University of New York at Buffalo, Buffalo, New York. ERIC ED 056 046.

Hunt, C. L. 1967. Language choice in a multilingual society. In S. Lieberman (ed.). *Explorations in sociolinguistics.* Hague, Netherlands, Mouton. 112–125.

Hymes, D. 1967. Models of interaction of language and social setting. *Journal of Social Issues. 23,* 8–23.

Johnson, K. 1971. The influence of non-standard Negro dialect on reading achievement. *English Research. 20,* 148–155.

Johnson, K. and Simons, H. 1973. Black children's reading of dialect and standard texts. Final Report, University of California at Berkeley. Sponsored by National Center for Educational Research and Development. Washington, D.C., Regional Research Program. ERIC ED 076 978.

Labov, W. *et al,* (eds.). 1968. *A study of the non-standard English of Negro and Puerto Rican speakers in New York City.* Columbia University Cooperative Research Project No. 3288, supported by Cooperative Research Program of the Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. ERIC ED 028 423.

Lawhon, S. 1973. The comparison of one teacher's oral language assessment of a panel of expert's oral language assessment of ten Blacks. Master's thesis, College of Education, University of Texas at Austin. ERIC ED 081 866.

Lawton, D. 1971. The question of creolization in Puerto Rican Spanish. In D. Hymes (ed.). *Pidginization and creolization of languages.* Cambridge, England, Cambridge University Press.

Legum, S. E. 1971. The speech of young Black children in Los Angeles. Southwest Regional Educational Lab., Inglewood, California. Office of Education, Washington, D.C., September. ERIC ED 057 022.

Malkiel, Y. 1964. Some diachronic implications of fluid speech communities. In J. Gumperz and D. Hymes (eds.). *The ethnography of communication.* Menasha, Wisconsin, American Anthropological Association. 171–186.

Mazón, M. R. 1973. *Oral language assessment: An evaluation of a modular teacher education program.* San Diego, California, Institute for Cultural Pluralism, San Diego State University.

Natalicio, D. S. and Williams, F. 1971. *Repetition as an oral language assessment technique.* Austin, Texas, Center for Communication Research, University of Texas at Austin.

National Consortia for Bilingual Education. 1971. *Tests in use in Title VII bilingual education programs.* Fort Worth, Texas, National Consortia fro Bilingual Education.

Ott, E. H. 1967. A study of levels of fluency and proficiency in oral English of Spanish speaking school beginners. Doctoral dissertation, University of Texas at Austin.

Pfaff, C. W. 1971. A coding system for the study of linguistic variation in Black English. Southwest Regional Educational Lab., Inglewood, California, December. ERIC ED 058 214.

Reinstein, S. and Hoffman, J. 1972. Dialect interaction between Black and Puerto Rican children in New York City. *Elementary English.* 49, 190–196.

Rystrom, R. 1968. The effects of standard dialect training on Negro first-graders learning to read. Final Report, Concord, California, Diablo Valley College. ERIC ED 029 717.

Saville, M. 1971. Interference phenomena in language teaching: The nature, extent and significance in the acquisition of standard English. *Elementary English.* 48, 396–406.

Saville, M. and Troike, R. 1971. *A handbook of bilingual education.* Washington, D.C., TESOL.

Slobin, L. 1971. Noun plural marker deletion in the speech of Black children. Master's thesis, University of Texas at Austin, Center for Communication Research, December. ERIC ED 056 622.

Stewart, W. 1969. Urban Negro speech: Sociolinguistic features reflecting English teaching. *Florida Foreign Language Reporter.* 7, 50–53, 166.

Stockwell, R. and Bowen, D. 1970. *The sounds of English and Spanish.* Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Sullivan, R. E. 1971. A comparison of certain relationships among selected phonological differences and spelling deviations for a group of Negro and a group of white second grade children. Doctoral dissertation, University of Texas at Austin. ERIC ED 057 021.

Taylor, T. H. 1969. A comparative study of the effects of oral-aural language training on gains in English language for fourth and fifth grade disadvantaged Mexican American children. Doctoral dissertation, University of Texas at Austin. ERIC ED 040 391.

Thonis, E. 1970. *Teaching non-English speaking students to read.* New York, Collier-Macmillan.

Troike, R. 1972. English and the bilingual child. In D. Shores (ed.). *Contemporary English: Change and variation.* Philadelphia, Lippincott. 306–318.

Varo, C. 1971. *Consideraciones antropológicos y politicos en torno a la enseñanza del "Spanglish" en Nueva York.* Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico, Libreria Internacional.

Weinreich, U. 1968. *Languages in contact: Findings an dproblems.* Hague, Netherlands, Mouton.

Wiggins, A. 1970. A study of dialect differences in the speech of first grade children in the inner city schools of Cleveland, Ohio. Doctoral dissertation, Indiana University. ERIC ED 057 026.

Doing Things with Words—Verbal Interaction in Lockstep and Small Group Classroom Situations

MICHAEL H. LONG, LESLIE ADAMS, MARILYN MCLEAN,
and FERNANDO CASTAÑOS

Anyone concerned with the teaching of English to speakers of other languages will be familiar with the frustration felt by practicing teachers at the apparent inability of their students to transfer knowledge of the target language to situations outside language classrooms. Parallels exist between this problem and the linguistic/communicative competence distinction (Paulston 1974; Allwright 1975; Long 1975). Briefly, most English language programmes and the students who enroll in them have as their (explicit or implicit) aim the acquisition by learners of communicative competence; yet most teachers and textbooks concentrate mainly or exclusively upon grammatical and phonological accuracy in English. (This is not to say that linguistic competence will be unnecessary, simply that it will be insufficient). The problem may be seen, therefore, not as one of lack of transfer, but of lack of opportunity to develop inside the classroom some of the skills that will be required outside it.

It has been argued that two obstacles in the way of acquisition by learners of communicative competence are (1) reliance on certain kinds of exercise and drill material, and (2) the most traditional form of classroom organization—the lockstep (Long 1975). Re the first, the majority of textbooks still present the target language in terms of grammatical structures made "meaningful" by their being "situationalised." Widdowson (1972) has pointed out the sterility of an approach which focuses attention on language forms, and ignores ways in which these forms are appropriately used to realize communicative acts, such as commentary, generalisation and hypothesis. Manipulation of structures in drills and exercises results typically in the production by students of unrelated grammatically correct *sentences* in a communicative vacuum. In two recent papers, Allwright (1975) and Phillips and Shettlesworth (1975) have gone so far as to doubt the feasibility of eliciting in the classroom the kind of discourse learners will encounter in their target situations so long as the bases of classroom language production are materials originally written for language teaching.

This selection is based on teaching done in a presentation at the 1976 TESOL Convention. Michael H. Long, Leslie Adams, Marilyn McLean and Fernando Castaños teach in the Foreign Language Department, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, Xochimilco, México, D.F. The authors wish to acknowledge the assistance of Sarafín Mercado and Ana Ma. Sierra Bernal.

Re classroom organization, it has been suggested that lockstep work sets severe restraints on discourse potential. It is believed to do so through its denial to students of certain options as to roles they may take up and, hence, of the variety of uses to which they may put language—the things, that is, they may do with words. It is claimed that the quality of verbal interaction possible between teacher and student, and student and student, is influenced adversely by such factors as (1) the pressure teachers feel to maintain a rapid pace during student oral work in order to avoid boredom among the learners, and (2) the pressures students feel as a result of what Barnes (1973: 19) calls the "audience effect," i.e. the inhibitions resulting from having to speak "publically" in front of a large group of fellow students and the dominating figure of the teacher. One of the results of the pressure on teachers is a tendency for them to limit individual student production to isolated sentences; the audience effect creates in students a need to provide the short, polished "finished article" in the form of a grammatically correct sentence in which generally truth value and almost always adequacy and appropriacy are hardly considered either by student or teacher.

By way of contrast, small group work, appropriately organized, is believed to provide students with an intimate setting in which the above inhibitions disappear, and in which what Barnes (*Ibid.*, 19) calls "exploratory" talk may occur. Barnes writes:

> An intimate group allows us to be relatively inexplicit and incoherent, to change direction in the middle of a sentence, to be uncertain and self-contradictory. What we say may not amount to much, but our confidence in our friends allows us to take the first groping steps towards sorting out our thoughts and feelings by putting them into words. I shall call this sort of talk 'exploratory.'

Roles open to students are more varied, the very absence of the teacher automatically delegating to them responsibilities, which result in language use of kinds not open to them in lockstep work.

It was to explore the validity of some of these claims in the context of a large-scale special purpose foreign language teaching operation that a study was carried out by members of the Foreign Language Department of the Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, at its Xochimilco campus in Mexico City. Specifically it was hoped to establish something of the nature of the differences, if any, between the quantity and quality of student language production in classroom language learning organised on (1) a lockstep, and (2) a small group basis. By 'quality' was meant not the number of errors or correct language forms produced, but the varieties of things students *did* with language under the two conditions, i.e. what communicative acts of one kind or another they performed with the language they produced. Determining this, it was realised, might usefully involve the application of different systems for the analysis of classroom language, and thereby provide some insights into the potential for this type of research of some of those observational and analytic procedures. As will soon become apparent, it was in fact the problems of analysis which came to occupy the greater part of the researchers' time and interest.

The Study

For the purposes of the study, decisions were taken re the task to be carried out in the lockstep and small group situations and as to the nature of the grouping to be used. It seemed relatively unchallenging to compare student language production in anything approaching a "regimented" drill-type lockstep class with that produced by an unsupervised small group of students. While many important differences would undoubtedly have shown up in a comparison of the language produced in the two conditions, this type of lockstep activity, we knew, was not typical of teachers working in our Department and would anyway have been difficult to replicate in the small group, given the obvious lack of "teaching" experience of the students. Secondly, the value of small group work would be tested much more rigourously if the learning task in the lockstep situation were designed to facilitate production of the same kind of communicative use of language as was thought more feasible "out of lockstep." With respect to the nature of the grouping it was decided to contrast lockstep work with the most "extreme" small group attainable, namely the pair. This was because classes at Xochimilco are rarely larger than fifteen students (quite a *small* group in many teaching situations, of course), and removing groups of (say) five students would have left only a "large small group" in the lockstep condition. It was also decided to group students according to their own expressed preferences due to the belief that it is the ability to work with chosen classmates which provides the intimacy upon which student confidence in small group work is based (Long 1975; 1976).

Method

Over a two-week period sound recordings were made of four lessons at the intermediate level in which teachers and students discussed the similarities and differences between man and other animals. Specifically, students were asked whether they thought man was fundamentally different from other animals, and were provided with a handout (see Appendix) on which were listed some of the factors they might consider during the discussion. Instructions to teachers prior to the recordings were phrased in such a way as to avoid indicating any particular role *they* should adopt, focusing instead on what it was required that the *students* do (discuss) during the period to be recorded. It was hoped thereby not to influence the degree to which they, the teachers, "led" or "organised" the ensuing verbal interaction. Questions from the four teachers relating in any way to their teaching roles were, quite simply, evaded. They were asked to handle the lesson in any way they liked, but not to use group work.

Sound recordings were made of a total of forty minutes per class. During the first ten minutes teachers taught lockstep. At the end of this first period students were asked to choose a partner with whom they would like to work should they be chosen to do so. A pair of students was then chosen at random, and these students went into a room adjoining the main classroom for the second period of ten minutes. They were recorded "continuing the discussion" while the teacher was recorded doing the same with the remaining students, still functioning as one group. At the end of the second period of ten minutes the pair rejoined the full class for a final ten minute recording of a lockstep continuation of the same discussion. The tapes were transcribed, and our subsequent analysis used the original recordings or transcriptions of them, as appropriate.

Analysis of the data—(1) the application of existing coding systems.

Two existing classroom interaction analysis coding systems were applied to parts of our data. The first, Bellack's system, (Bellack, *et al.* 1966) was used to code the four types of pedagogical moves which occur in the classroom. These are: Structuring, Soliciting, Reacting and Responding. The structuring move as defined by Bellack is an initiatory move; it sets the context for classroom behaviour by launching or halting—excluding interaction between teacher and pupil. An example of the move is utterance 74.

74 T: For example, uh you have a chimpanzee in a labyrinth. OK? And suppose . . . this labyrinth has a rule that you've got to turn right always. If you turn left, it's no good. OK? You've got to turn right to find the food . . . We will think that all labyrinths, labyrinths in general . . .

The soliciting move is designed to elicit a verbal response, to encourage persons addressed to attend to something or to elicit a physical response. All questions are solicitations, as are commands, imperatives and requests. The responding moves bear a reciprocal relation to soliciting moves and occur only in relation to them. Utterances 104 and 105 are examples of a soliciting move followed by a responding move:

104 T: Do you know anything about elephants?
105 S: They are big.

These utterances are followed by two reacting moves. The students and teacher laugh, and following this the teacher says: "They say they have a very good memory." Thus, a reacting move is occasioned by a structuring, soliciting, responding or a prior reacting move, but is not directly elicited by them.

Using Bellack's system to record the types and frequency of moves and the sequence in which they occurred enabled us to calculate the percentage of student moves made during the class period and the distribution of the student responses among the four categories. It was found that, in Group I, during the 30 minute segment of lockstep teaching, students made 183 moves out of a total of 262, i.e. they made 69.8 per cent of the total number of moves. Further analysis of the frequency of types of moves made by the students showed that 0.5 per cent of the student moves were structuring moves (1 move), 10.9 per cent were soliciting moves (20 moves), 33.3 per cent were responding moves (61 moves), and 55.2 per cent were reacting moves (101 moves). The percentage of student moves in Group I was much higher than in the classes studied by Bellack, where the median percentage of student moves in all classes was 38.2. This presumably reflects the teacher's style, the task and teaching situation.

The second instrument used was the Moskowitz system, (Moskowitz 1976), which is an adaptation of the Flanders system of Interaction Analysis for the foreign language classroom (Flanders 1970). The Moskowitz system consists of twelve categories; seven designate teacher behaviour, two are for student behaviour, and the last three are for silence, confusion and laughter. All student utterances are coded as category 8, Student talk-specific, or category 9, Student talk-open-ended or initiated.

One important type of information concerning student participation which can be obtained from this system is the amount of total student participation and the degree to which this participation is controlled by the teacher. For example, performing a matrix analysis on the data from group I showed that student talk accounted for 51.8% of the total talk, and that 74.7% of the total student talk was coded as category nine, open-ended or initiated utterances. Again, as with the high incidence of student moves, the high incidence of category 9 also presumably reflects the type of task and the language teaching situation as well as the teacher's style.

Discussion—the development of an embryonic category system.

Because there are only two categories in the Moskowitz system which describe student uttterances, there are limitations on the type of information which can be obtained concerning the quality of student utterances in terms, e.g., of their rhetorical functions. This is a characteristic of several other systems of analysis for foreign language classrooms (e.g. Wragg 1970; Nearhoof 1969; Jarvis 1968). The limitation is more pronounced when dealing with student-student interaction. Consider the following series of student utterances from the middle ten minute period of lockstep work in group one:

110 SS: History.

111 T: History. How?

112 S4: To write.

113 S5: Yeah, we have monuments, we have some authors, we have—

114 S2: Films.

115 S1: Communications.

116 S5: —some some different things that that make us remember what happened.

117 S1: We we can communicate each other, yeah? And. . . .

118 S4: Yes, that's that's how the other uh characteristics come in in communication to use the other language.

119 S1: Mm hum.

Student participation in the above fragment would be coded 9-10-9-10, etc. using Moskowitz's system even though elements of the interaction are quite different in terms of the types of things students are *doing* with the utterances they produce. In this sequence there are examples of students agreeing, providing information and inducing. If this had been teacher-student interaction, it would have been possible to differentiate and code the teacher utterances as agreeing or accepting ideas (categories 2 and 3) and providing information (category 5). However, no such provision for differentiating student responses of this type exists in the present system.

A third system for interaction analysis, developed by John Fanselow, called FOCUS (Foci for Observing Communications Used in Settings) (Fanselow 1976), gives us more detailed information about student behaviour because categories can be applied to both teacher and student and must be coded accordingly. FOCUS also provides more detailed categories for types of student utterances. For example, under the heading of *use*, student performance of the following types of utterances can be coded:

Uses

- attend
- characterize
  - differentiate
  - evaluate
  - examine
  - illustrate
  - label
- present
- relate
  - explain
  - interpret
- re-present
  - combine
  - repeat
  - substitute
  - transform

(From Fanselow, 1976)

Fanselow writes, "... if we accept the fact that one goal of language learning is to be able to use mediums in a variety of ways—as humans do in ordinary discourse—then the way mediums are used becomes an important characteristic of communications to note." (*Ibid.*, 3). However, the two subcategories of relate—explain and interpret—are rather broad. Other types of relationships exist such as induce, deduce, hypothesize, etc. It might be useful to show these. In addition, although Fanselow does deal with communicative functions such as differentiate or explain, he does so primarily to describe the continuity of discourse; many of the categories are too big to discern whether the students' knowledge of the language allows them to cope with a wider and finer range of communicative functions or enables them to organize them coherently in logical terms. For example, 'explain' may include a variety of rhetorical acts at a lower level.

Because we were interested in what *acts* our students were performing when they spoke within the context of the flow of discourse, because, that is, we wanted additional information to that we could obtain by applying the systems known to us for analysing verbal interaction in foreign language classrooms, we looked to two other attempts at analysing verbal interaction in educational settings, those of Sinclair's team at Birmingham, and Barnes and Todd at Leeds. Both studied discourse in so-called "content" subjects. The Birmingham research has produced a tentative model for discourse (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975) as well as a system for analysing teacher-directed classroom interaction. The latter has been applied successfully, but the authors note:

> (W)hat it cannot handle, and of course was not designed to handle, is pupil/pupil interaction in project work, discussion groups, or the playground. (Ibid., 6).

The work at Leeds, which had grown out of an earlier small-scale study (Barnes 1969), had as its underlying purpose:

> to examine the relationship between short-term, small-scale aspects of the social interaction of small groups and the cognitive strategies generated in the course of the interaction. . . . Small groups were chosen in order to obtain as much information as possible about the learning strategies of children in the absence of a teacher. (Barnes and Todd 1975)

Subjects were thirteen year-old children of average intelligence, and the investigators particularly wanted to establish the ways in which they used strategies in dialogue which encouraged or impeded hypothetico-deductive thinking. They were interested, in other words, in a setting in which children *talk to learn*, whereas we wanted to know what facilities small group interaction provided for students to talk to *learn to speak*, i.e. to learn how to *use* a foreign language.

Accordingly, while interested in trying out Barnes and Todd's categories in the foreign language setting, we took over only those which intuitively seemed appropriate to our needs, basically ones grouped by them under 'Logical process' and 'Social skills.' Even then, categories found under 'Social skills' in our embryonic system, such as 'student competes for the floor' (category S1), 'student interrupts' (S2), or 'student contradicts' (S4), which come straight from Barnes and Todd's work, interested us as ends in themselves rather than means to an end. For example, the worker in foreign language teaching will want to recognise use of an interrupting strategy when he sees one, but will not be interested in what is being gained by its use in terms of learning, other than language learning.

The following are our categories as used in the second analysis of our data.

Embryonic Category System (ESC).

1. *Pedagogical Moves*
    - P 1. Student initiates discussion.
    - P 2. Student focuses discussion.
    - P 3. Student summarizes and completes a sequence/ends discussion or section of discussion.
    - P 4. Student moves conversation on to a new topic.
    - P 5. Student qualifies another person's contribution.
    - P 6. Student implicitly accepts a qualification.
    - P 7. Student extends a previous contribution of his own or of others.
    - P 8. Student reformulates own or other's previous assertion.

P 9. Student expresses understanding.
P10. Student provides an example.
P11. Student uses evidence to challenge an assertion.
P12. Student asks for information.
P13. Student asks for information about the target language.
P14. Student gives information on request.
P15. Student gives information about the target language.
P16. Student asks for clarification.
P17. Student clarifies.

2. *Social Skills.*
S 1. Student competes for the floor.
S 2. Student interrupts.
S 3. Student completes other's unfinished utterance.
S 4. Student contradicts.
S 5. Student invites participation by other students.
S 6. Student explicitly expresses agreement.
S 7. Student makes explicit reference to other's contribution.
S 8. Student encourages other.
S 9. Student explicitly supports other's assertion with evidence.
S10. Student jokes.
S11. Student avoids discussion.
S12. Student repeats.
S13. Student confirms.

3. *Rhetorical Acts.*
R 1. Student predicts.
R 2. Student hypothesizes.
R 3. Student makes an observation.
R 4. Student deduces.
R 5. Student induces.
R 6. Student states generalization.
R 7. Student defines.
R 8. Student negates.
R 9. Student expresses cause and effect relationship.
R10. Student exemplifies.
R11. Student identifies.
R12. Student categorises.
R13. Student classifies.
R14. Student concludes.
•
•
•
X Confusion/inaudible tape.

The dots under 'Rhetorical Acts' are there to recognize that this list is far from complete; acts listed so far are simply those we found we needed to categorise things in this area which students did in the lessons we analysed.

Before illustrating the application of the categories in ECS, it is important to note that, while we have spoken of adopting some of Barnes and Todd's categories, they in fact abandoned their original plan to attempt to categorise in this way. They did so firstly because utterances in free-flowing talk often realise more than one kind of act at the same time. Secondly, 'meanings' are frequently constructed over quite lengthy *cycles* of utterances, which are difficult to isolate and dependent on:

> the interaction between utterances, and the speaker-hearer's intentions for, and interpretation of, these utterances. (*Ibid.*, 16–17).

Thirdly, meanings hidden in the interaction, which it is the purpose of discourse analysis to reveal, are fluid and changing, and may have one value for a participant during the interaction and another in the observer's intuitive interpretation of them during subsequent analysis of that interaction. Fourthly, it was difficult to ascertain whether linguistic features which tended to appear in stretches of discourse where what Barnes and Todd call 'knowledge-making' seemed to be occurring were really playing an important role in that knowledge-making.

While recognising as very real the difficulties of which Barnes and Todd write, we have persevered with our attempts at categorisation for a variety of reasons. Firstly, as they implicitly recognise, it is possible to code individual utterances more than once. Secondly, we believe it may prove possible to pin down the larger 'meaningful' cycles, at least insofar as meanings explicitly or implicitly stated in the discourse are concerned, as we discuss below. Thirdly, in the foreign language setting we are not, as we said earlier, necessarily interested in tying linguistic features to the learning of 'content,' but rather with evidence of the existence of those features in the students' foreign language repetoire and their use in the performance of speech acts. Fourthly, an ability to categorise data is useful for many research and most teacher-training applications of whatever category instrument we might develop.

For the purpose of exemplifying the application of our system to the data we will now look (in an excerpt from transcript 1), at a stretch of continuous discourse produced by a pair of students working in the absence of a teacher. The pair began like this:

Transcript I

234	S3:	OK. So what do you think about creativity?	P1, S5.
235	S9:	Uh well I think like Fanny (S7),/ but I think it the same because um I think have ability to to mind and do things. . .	P14, S7/P5.
236	S3:	Um I { } do you agree what uh about the creatures have creativity?	P16, S5.
237	S9:	Uh no. Last uh course I was uh six uh course seven BEFAS[*] six . . .	S11.

[*] BEFAS = acronym for *Basic English for Academic Study*. This course is used at the elementary and early intermediate levels by students at our University's Xochimilco campus.

238	S3:	Mm hum.	S8.
239	S9:	and we don't uh we don't see that.	S11.
240	S3:	Yes,/I don't think the creatures have creativity/ because if they would have creativity, they all the they will changing his his way to do the things, / and they every year are doing the same the same the same./So I don't think it's creativity./And the man all the years and even all day he is changing his way to act and his way to build and everything and um um . . . Do you think the agriculture is a chara- a main characteristic?	S1/R2/R1/ R3/R14/ R3/P4, S5.
241	S9:	Um. Yes./ Because um the animals don't um um the animals um don't change the the environment of the earth um . . .	P14/P10, R3.
242	S3:	Here we have the problem. What what we understand what is the meaning of agriculture?/ It's only like the man does that he takes he . . . little things and put general, no, like { } can,/ or it's uh agriculture can be well an animal e- uh who practice ag-agriculture can be an animal that goes over the trees and to eat? . . ./ I think these of the animals wouldn't agriculture./ Do you think it's agriculture?	P2/R2/R2 R14/P14, S5.
243	S9:	Um no, I don't. / Um what um what's agriculture for you?	P14, S6/P16, S5.
244	S3:	Agriculture? / I think it's um a special manner to 'sembrar'**?	S12/P14, R7
245	S9:	{ }	X.
246	S3:	a special manner to 'sembrar' and after that that we can have this { } but not in a natural way uh not uh not in a in a natural way this . . . / the man does the man does that the there will be vegetables and fruits in his { } not not like in the mountains.	P7, R7/P10, R3.
247	S9:	And uh or artificial by artificial ways. . .	P9, S13.
248	S3:	Um, yes.	S13.

** sembrar = Spanish for 'sow'.

Intervention 234 shows student 3 simultaneously initiating the discussion and inviting participation by her partner. The utterance is, therefore, coded twice, as P1, S5. Communication 235 is an example of a student giving information when requested to do so, making explicit reference to another's contribution (intervention 51 on the complete transcript), followed by a qualification of the ideas expressed in that contribution, and so is coded as P14, S7/P5. Two category levels referring to the same utterance are separated by a comma: P1, S5. Where different parts of an intervention realize different acts of various kinds, those acts are coded in sequence, and the category labels separated by a diagonal stroke: P5/S7. Communication 236 has student 3 asking for clarification of student 9's previous contribution, and is again simultaneously an invitation for her partner to participate. It is coded as P16, S5. In 237 student 9 somewhat desperately attempts to explain why she is having difficulty contributing, namely because she has only recently been promoted from a lower-level course. Her intervention is coded as S11, student avoids discussion. At 238 her partner encourages her with a commiserating 'Mm hum', and is coded S8, student encourages. And so on.

Analysis of the data—(2) the application of ECS

At the time of writing ECS has been applied to the middle ten minute periods of lockstep work in two of our classes and to the two corresponding ten minute periods of pairwork. Coding of each transcript was carried out by the four members of the investigating team working as a group to reach consensus. Modifications to categories were made and new ones added as and when this was found necessary in order to handle the data.

Talk by each of twenty-six students in the data analysed was coded under pedagogic moves, social skills and rhetorical acts and quantified in two sections, talk produced in the lockstep and small group conditions. For each student scores were then computed of totals of pedagogical moves, social skills, rhetorical acts and total moves (the sum of the first three scores), and the same was done for the *variety* of pedagogical moves, social skills, rhetorical acts and the sum of these. In either the lockstep or small group condition, for example, student X may have realized 12 pedagogical moves in ten minutes of class time, including 6 different types of moves, 12 social skills, including 7 different types of skills, and 11 rhetorical acts, including 5 different types of acts, giving a total of 35 acts altogether, and a total of 18 different types of acts altogether. Thus, eight scores for each student were available for the final statistical analysis.

The Kolmogorov-Smirnov test for two samples was applied, using the formula for approximation to chi-squared developed by Goodman (1954). It was found that the *quantities* of pedagogical moves, social skills, rhetorical acts and total numbers of moves performed by students working the small group condition were significantly higher ($p < .01$, $p < .05$, $p < .05$ and $p < .01$ respectively) than those by students in the lockstep condition. *Variety* of pedagogical moves and social skills and the total varieties of moves were also significantly greater (all at the $p < .01$ level) in the small group condition. The variety of rhetorical acts performed by students in the small group condition was also greater than that in the lockstep condition, but the difference was just short of significant at the .05 level.

Discussion—(a) the experimental findings.

Nothing conclusive can be stated on the basis of the findings so far, given that they reflect analyses of only a part of the data. However, a clear trend in the results is emerging which, if continued, will provide strong support for our initial hypotheses as to the positive effects on quantity and quality of language production of having students work in small groups as opposed to a lockstep classroom setting. The greater *quantity* of acts of different kinds performed by students in the small group condition is presumably partly a function of greater opportunity, i.e. of the greater number of turns available to the members of a small group for speaking, and, hence, for doing something to move the discourse on. Nevertheless, this advantage in terms of language practice possible is something we often forget as teachers. So many language-learning activities carried out by teacher-led classes of students could just as easily be performed by students working in small groups, with greater opportunity for each individual to practice rather than merely to observe.

More interesting is the preliminary finding that students working on the same discussion task, using the same materials, and after the same initial exposure to this task and the language going with it do a significantly greater *variety* of things with language when working with one other student than with a "large" group of fellow students and with their teacher leading the discussion. It is worth emphasising the fact that these results were obtained under conditions not at all favorable to our ideas, i.e. with a smaller than usual number of students (eleven) in the lockstep condition, during work on a task and with materials calculated to lead to a wider variety of communicative language use than that found in many standard EFL texts, and with discussion led by teachers who, based on our experience of observing and training foreign language teachers, we would judge to be unusually "non-interfering" (see Long & Castaños 1976) and non-authoritarian, i.e. not of the type who tend to dominate the leading and structuring of classroom discussion. Despite these "unfavorable" lockstep climates (unfavorable from the point of view of our experiments, that is), students working in the absence of their teacher in a group of two engaged in language practice which was more varied in communicative values as measured along at least two dimensions. Assuming the later analyses confirm our present results, it will remain to be established, among other factors, whether these findings hold good in larger small groups, with students at beginning and advanced levels of proficiency in the target language and over different types of learning tasks, and whether language practice with something approaching the characteristics of that found in the small group condition can be achieved in large groups of students without the teacher's presence or in small groups with the teacher present.

Discussion—(b) ECS.

At this point a discussion of some of the embryonic category system's obvious limitations is appropriate. Firstly, while we are more confident about the information being provided by the categories in our 'Pedagogical moves' and 'Social skills' list, we are under no illusions as to the worth of our 'Rhetorical acts.' Our analysis at this level is undoubtedly extremely superficial. Indeed, by atomising the data and attaching one label to one or more utterances, as exemplified in the above examples of coding, we are in danger of losing the hidden meanings over *cycles* in the discourse of which Barnes and Todd warn. For example, we code the utterance:

. . . and they every year are doing the same, the same the same . . . in intervention 240, as a student making an observation (R3), yet it is clear that in doing so she is also starting a generalization. Furthermore, taken together, it and several of the utterances in 240 combine to exemplify other 'macro' rhetorical acts not coded by us. In other words, intervention 240 as a whole is more than the sum of the 'parts' we distinguished. Instead of the simple one-to-one coding we have described, intervention 240 could be analysed something as follows:

Having already decided that they are going to micro-classify according to + or — creativity:

234: OK. So what do you think about creativity?

the pair of students now divide the problem into two parts: 'the creatures,' and 'the man.' Next, the analysis of the first part, 'the creatures,' is introduced by advancing the conclusion, in the form of a hypothesis, that creatures are — creative.

'I don't think the creatures have creativity.'

The hypothesis is now proved:

'I don't think the creatures have creativity *because* . . .,' and the conclusion confirmed:

'*So* I don't think it's creativity.'

The proof has 3 steps:

(1) Animals can only be + or — creative.
(2) Animals are not + creative.
(3) Therefore, they are — creative.

These steps are carried out in the following way:

The hypothesis that animals are — creative is restated as animals having creativity, i.e. that they are + creative (2). Step

(1) is performed implicitly by the order of the starting and reformulating of the hypothesis. The proof that animals are not + creative is carried out not by providing direct evidence but by showing the logical implications of the hypothesis:

> 'If they would have creativity, they all the they will changing his his way to do things.'

and then comparing these against evidence,

> '. . . and . . .'

making the comparison, with the evidence being provided in the form of the observation:

> '. . . (and), they every year are doing the same the same the same.'

The analysis of the second part of the problem is done in a similar way, except that all the steps that bar 'comparison against evidence' are ellipted:

> 'And the man' (comparison introduced)
> 'all the years and even all day he is changing his way to act and his way to build and everything . . .'

The students are, of course, working on the assumption that creativity has already been defined as 'the ability to change things.' For this reason, during the statement of the implications and the comparison of the evidence, no new opinions as to the meaning of creativity are introduced; the existing information, only, is processed. If new opinions had been introduced, the analysis would have been more complex. The establishing of the two categories, + and — creative, is implicit and probably suggested by the materials (see Appendix), as was mentioned earlier.

In summary, our categories capture 'micro' rhetorical acts. At a succession of ever higher levels intervention 240 shows students in the pair using the foreign language to perform several of them (predicting, stating a generalisation, etc.), in the setting up and testing of hypotheses for the purpose of classifying man and other animals into a set of previously established categories. In order to pick up this sort of information work is needed establishing some sort of *hierarchy* or identifying other relationships among rhetorical acts. (See Castaños, F., forthcoming).

Some other obvious weaknesses of our embryonic system are that as yet its categories have not been operationally defined, and it lacks finiteness, exhaustiveness and objectivity. Operational definitions for the categories should not prove too great a problem; there are borderline cases, of course, but our experience at coding so far suggests there are no serious cases of overlap. Finiteness is the biggest problem: how many rhetorical acts are there? The question of exhaustiveness is related to this; accounting for all the data does not mean much unless one knows both that the categories are not netting different species of fish, or missing bigger fish altogether through constituting too fine a mesh. As for objectivity, like all systems for analysing classroom interaction, our categories are subjective, and classification of language into them intuitive. One may reasonably suppose that a teacher's or student's coughing is not important and so does not justify having a category to record it, but where does one draw the line? What most present systems need is work correlating incidence of the behaviours they categorise—whatever kind of behaviours they may be—with student learning.

This last point is one among several which have led Gage (1963) and, more recently, Neujahr (1968), among others, to criticise the proliferation and lack of productivity of category systems of this kind, and of the research done with them. With our embryonic system we risk adding to the confusion. However, if communicative competence is accepted as talking about the realising of rhetorical acts in situated discourse, then we think we are at least taking a step in a direction which has been largely ignored in the past. We feel we need something like this to get at the features of verbal interaction in foreign language classrooms which are relevant to our students' communicative needs outside them.

APPENDIX

MAN AND OTHER ANIMALS—SAME OR DIFFERENT?

Man's abilities are great and varied. Some people find it difficult to accept that he is an animal—a member of the species, *homo sapiens*. Even if he is an animal, some people say he is completely different from other animals.

Consider the following list. Are they characteristics of man, of other animals, or of both?

intelligence
complex thinking
creativity
bipedal locomotion and upright posture*
the ability to learn from experience
communication—the use of language—to regulate social behaviour
the use of tools**
the building of shelters***
the practice of agriculture
distinguishing between love and sex
the use of education
the use of symbols
job specialisation
the use of money as a system of exchange
the possession of emotions
thinking about past and future actions
the ability to control the environment
the ability to adapt to the environment

Do you think man is fundamentally different from other animals?

---

* *upright posture = una postura vertical.*
** *tools = herramientas.*
*** *shelters = refugios.*

References

Allwright, R. L. 1975. Learning Language Through Communication Practice. Paper presented at the 4th International Congress of Applied Linguistics, Stuttgart.

Barnes, D. 1969. Language in the Secondary Classroom. In (Ed) Barnes, D.: *Language, the Learner and the School.* London, Penguin.

——— 1973. Language in the Classroom. London, Open University Press.

——— & Todd, F. 1975. Communication and Learning in Small Groups. A Report to the Social Science Research Council. U. of Leeds.

Bellack, A. *et al.* 1966. The Language of the Classroom. New York, Teachers College Press.

Burt, M. & Dulay, H. (Eds.). 1975. *New Directions in Second Language Learning, Teaching and Bilingual Education.* Washington, D.C., TESOL.

Castaños, F. 1976. The discourse of science and teaching English for special purposes at the elementary level. *Languages for Special Purposes*, Xochimilco, México. U. Autónoma Metropolitana.

Fanselow, J. 1976. Beyond Rashomon. 10th annual TESOL Convention.

Flanders, N. A. 1970. Analyzing Teaching Behavior. Reading, Massachusetts, Addison-Wesley.

Gage, N. L. 1963. Paradigms for Research on Teaching. In (Ed) Gage, N. L.: Handbook of Research on Teaching. Chicago, Rand McNally.

Goodman, L. A. 1954. 'Kolmogorov-Smirnox tests for psychological research.' *Psychol. bull.*, 51, 160–168.

Jarvis, G. 1968. A behavioral observation system for classroom foreign language skill acquisition activities. *Modern Language Journal*, 52, 335–341.

Long, M. H. 1975. Group work and communicative competence in the ESOL classroom. In (Eds.) Burt, M. & Dulay, H.

——— 1976. Group work in the Teaching and Learning of English as a Foreign Language: problems and potential. *English Language Teaching Journal*, Vol. XXX.

———, & Castaños, F. 1976. Towards Non-interference: making second language learning more like the first. *MEXTESOL Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 36–48.

McLean, M. & Castaños, F. 1976. Discourse of Language Learning. *MEXTESOL Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 3.

Moskowitz, G. 1976. The Classroom Behavior of Outstanding Foreign Language Teachers. *Foreign Language Annals.*

Nearhoof, O. 1969. Observational (Category system) Instrument. In Grittner, F. *Teaching Foreign Languages.* New York, Harper & Row, 329–330.

Neujahr, J. K. 1972. Classroom Observational Research. *The Educational Forum*, January, 221–228.

Paulston, C. B. 1975. Linguistic and Communicative Competence. *TESOL Quarterly*, Vol. 8, No. 4, December, 347–362.

Phillips, M. & Shettlesworth. 1975. Questions in the Design and Use of Courses in English for Specialised Purposes. Paper presented at the 4th International Congress of Applied Linguistics, Stuttgart.

Sinclair, J. M. *et al.* 1975. Towards an Analysis of Discourse. The English used by teachers and pupils. London, Oxford University Press.

Widdowson, H. G. 1972. The Teaching of English as Communication. *English Language Teaching*, 27, 1, 15–19.

Wragg, E. C. 1970. The Influence of Feedback on Teachers' Performance. *Educational Research.*

In One Ear and Out the Other: Implications of Memory Studies for Language Learning

BERNICE S. MELVIN and WILGA M. RIVERS

"What is learned when we learn a foreign language?" This is a crucial question for until we know *what* we are teaching we will not really know *how* best to teach it. In some sense the answer is obvious: we learn reading, writing, speaking, listening; or again: grammar, syntax, morphology. But we want a different kind of answer, not a taxonomy of language; instead, we seek an identification of the skills, capabilities, and behaviors a learner comes to have.

Our plan of attack is this: first we will make some general remarks on the classical view of memory; then we will describe the information processing (IP) approach, which we believe to be the most powerful tool presently available for analyzing language behavior; we will then apply the IP theory to the question at hand.

Let us first summarize the "classical" or stimulus-response (S-R) view of memory (Thorndike 1932). In a general way, any modification of an object by its environment is temporary or permanent memory. But animal or human objects are a special class, because they show *behaviors*, both *overt* and *covert*. Examples of overt behaviors are moving, manipulating objects, making sounds, and so on; covert behaviors include having ideas, thoughts, and images. Behaviors are not emitted in a random order but as responses performed regularly, which are contingent or conditional on aspects of the environment (stimuli). When some environment acts on the animal to modify the effective stimuli, the available responses, or the performance contingencies, learning occurs. Thus, learning is a type of memory in the general sense.

Covert responses are often *representational*—that is, they copy, model, or partially reproduce aspects of the environment. There are classes of stimuli that we call symbols which are capable of causing representations in humans. Symbolic responses (for example, language) create symbols. In this view, memory in the usual sense is learning which involves a representational response (which may then elicit a symbolic response) in the presence of some later *cue* stimulus.

To illustrate this, let us consider three examples:

1. Recall your activities yesterday morning. The learning environment was the concrete world around you at that time; the response,

---

This selection is based on teaching done in a presentation at the 1976 TESOL Convention. Bernice S. Melvin teaches in the Foreign Language Department, the University of Texas, Austin, Texas 78712. Wilga M. Rivers teaches in the Department of Romance Languages, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138.

the series of thoughts and images which it elicited: the cue, the instruction to remember.

2. In Bartlett's experiments (1932), the learning environment was a set of graphic symbols which created a representation; the cue stimulus was an instruction to recall: the response was a representation (and its resultant verbal symbolization).

3. Ebbinghaus in his classical experiments on serial learning, reported in 1885, employed nonsense syllable lists, which have continued to be the basic tool in so much experimentation in this area. He thus used a complex non-symbolic graphic stimulus as the learning environment, and a simple cue "recall the list." The response was a representation in visual/verbal modes of the graphic configuration, including serial position and a subsequent verbal symbolization.

This stimulus-response conceptualization is valid as far as it goes. However, it leaves a number of questions unanswered. Before learning, a cue does not produce a certain representing response; after learning, it does. What change in the organism causes this difference? For stimulus-response theory, this is a non-question: there are stimuli, there are responses, there are stimulus-response connections. After learning, the connections are different, and that is all that needs to be said about it.

But common sense and our own experience would lead us to believe that there is more involved than this. Provisionally we may say that an organism is modified because an object called a *memory* is constructed, *stored*, and lurks on in the mind; its *retrieval* enables a representation to occur later.

Information processing theory conforms to this intuitive view and develops it with literalistic vengeance. Let us review the main tenets of this approach.[1]

1. Ideas, images, all representational responses may be modeled by complex non-linguistic *structures* (formerly called *digraphs*) of *elements* (or primitive ideas) which are connected by *relations* to produce complex ideas.

2. The sum of an organism's past experiences, all that has been learned about the world, and retained, may be represented by a single extensive structure known as *long-term memory* (LTM).

3. Long-term memory is continually being modified by the incorporation of new representations which may be generically termed *cognitive structures*.

4. Cognitive structures are built up or constructed from environmental stimulus input by a variety of *input processing routines*.

---

[1] This summary of IP theory is a synthesis of the theoretical assumptions of researchers like Schank (1972), Rieger (1974), Riesbeck (1974), and Goldman (1974).

5. Input processing routines fall into two broad classes:
a) *perceptual processes*, which are very fast, involve many activities in parallel, and are largely involuntary and unconscious in operation. They function to produce *perceptions*.
b) *Input procedures*, which are slower, involve sequential steps, and to some degree conscious voluntary control. They function to relate perceptions to LTM.

6. There are also *output processes*, which extract cognitive structures from LTM and construct symbolic responses which "express" them.

7. Processing routines are also objects "residing in" the organism. According to some researchers in this area, these have a different form than cognitive structures, or else are stored in a different place, or perhaps both of these possibilities apply. Other researchers believe that the "data" and "program" of consciousness are homogeneous: that one cannot separate the material of memory from the process. This is a grey area. In any case, processing routines may be learned and forgotten, just like representing responses.

8. Information flow is not uni-directional. Feedback from "higher" cognitive procedures heavily influences perceptual processing.

The notion of procedure is so basic to the information processing approach that it requires further comment. For our purposes we may define procedures as a series of *instructions*, each of which first tests the current environment for some property and then, conditional on the test outcome, takes some *action*. The action may be a behavior or it may be a *jump to begin exhausting some other procedures*. (This possibility is crucial, for it allows the organism to respond to a stimulus in a variety of ways.)

The best known examples of procedures are computer programs; however, procedures can also describe the behavior of living systems, e.g., If driving down the street, then:

```
If approaching an intersection, then:
  If there is a stop sign, STOP; else;
    If there is a light, then:
      If red, STOP;
      If green, CONTINUE;
      If yellow, then:
        DECIDE;
        If decided "yes" STOP.
```

(DECIDE and STOP name other procedures.)

Some procedures, such as playing music from a score, following the syntactic constraints of English, or balancing on a bicycle can become so automatic that they require little conscious attention and may be called *habits*. Others, such as driving a car in a strange town, require constant attention to testing and deciding and are therefore *voluntary*.

Like other entities, procedures, whether habitual or voluntary, may be imaged or represented internally or described verbally. Such a verbal description we term a *rule* (rule will be used in the rest of this paper as defined here). One can behave according to a procedure, that is, in this terminology, without knowing any rule for it (as the child's ability to speak a language without the ability to describe it in syntactic terms demonstrates).

Of course, an adult given a reasonably explicit verbal rule can usually (not always) construct and follow the corresponding procedure—that is, he can *apply the rule*. Learning a rule simply involves memorizing a verbal statement; learning a *procedure*, on the other hand, typically begins with a stage where everything is under conscious control—the rule is recalled and rehearsed continually, attention is carefully directed to the relevant stimuli, responses are deliberate. Eventually the procedure stabilizes and recall of the rule becomes unnecessary. With further practice the procedure may become *habitual*.

Language and IP theory

Having constructed this extensive theoretical framework, let us apply it to the original question, "What do we learn when we learn a language?" Or to alter it somewhat: "What do we *do* when we *use* a language?" Because whatever that is, that is what we learn.

Consider the case of *comprehending* a meaningful spoken sentence. IP gives the following account of the processing involved:

1. The acoustic signal is entered in *short-term memory*, which functions to retain briefly a copy of the input.
2. The signal is then perceptually encoded, which means that various statistical properties of the signal are examined to extract features, for example, phonic and intonational features.
3. The signal is then thrown away and the features which have been extracted are used to build abstract or schematized representations at various levels of generality (such as phonemes, syllables, intonation contours, breath groups, morphemes). This is, in part, parsing at the phonetic level.
4. Finally, *word-identification routines*, usually modeled as pattern matches or templates, look through the standard acoustic forms of the language, searching to identify the word, morpheme, or breath group.

In spite of extensive work reported by Broadbent (1958), Posner and Keele (1973), and others, we do not know much about perceptual processing, partially because most of the experimentation has not involved running discourse. (In the latter case, processing probably involves extensive feedback from *meaningful* processing, which we will discuss later in this paper.)

Clearly perceptual processing of verbal material is language-specific; students beginning a second language literally do not hear the same thing as natives and must acquire new perceptual routines. Perception is not very responsive to conscious control and verbal instruction is ineffective in increasing these capabilities. Discrimination training is likewise of limited value because local phonetic form is only one of many sources for perceptual analysis—in ordinary situations. In comprehending an utterance in the native language, the surrounding context as a whole is brought to bear on perceptual construction, including the *sequential phonemic dependencies* of the native language, (*tgakr* could not be an English word); *knowledge of existing acoustic forms* (for instance, that "play" is an English word, while "blay" is not); *empirical contingencies* (for example, "quack" tends to occur near "duck" or sometimes in a matrix where ill health is alluded to); *sequential lexical dependencies* (a determiner usually precedes a noun); *semantic constraints* ("think" needs an animate subject); *general knowledge of the world* ("the boys climbed the *tree*" not "three" or "tee"); *specific knowledge* (the trackmeet was yesterday so the participants "*ran*"—this would exclude "run"). All but the second of these, that is, knowledge of existing acoustic forms, involve feedback from "higher" processing, and suggest that many perceptual routines require meaningful discourse in order to function normally and, therefore, need to be learned through meaningful discourse. Further, any discrimination process must have information on the accuracy of its identifications in order to be effective in improving performance, and this is rarely provided in sufficient detail for the language learner, certainly not in the usual laboratory situation and infrequently by a classroom teacher.

The highly predictable vocabulary and grammar and the stereotypical situations of much of the early material in most language courses demands only routine perceptual processing at a very superficial level and hence hinders its development to a level where it will be effective in processing unfamiliar material.

Opportunity for the full range of native perceptual capabilities to be exercised *requires* contact with a broad range of meaningful material. Exercise of our native perceptual capabilities might best be developed through Carroll's suggested *two-stream* program of instruction (1974) with the material for *one-stream* presenting vocabulary and syntax just within the current capabilities of the students, so that it is meaningful to them and incorrect perceptions can be identified through "context" (that is, through meaning-processing); and a *second stream* presenting the students with unrestricted discourse which allows for the full range of syntactic, inflectional, and lexical forms so that the construction of the templates required by the word-identification routines can begin. This construction of templates requires little more than attention to the combinations of sounds. This second-stream presentation will partially "pre-tune" the students' perception of forms they will encounter and need to process in detail later, even if it seems to have no overtly identifiable effect at the moment of presentation. These two streams would be experienced in parallel: the students listening to much authentic material from which they are not required to extract exact meanings, at the same stage of the course when they are listening to other material which is within their capabilities of operation but to which they must respond in ways which indicate that they have extracted precise meanings.

Schank (1972), Riesbeck (1974), and Rieger (1974) have developed a computerized model of input procedures for English. These operate by accepting, in principle, acoustic vocabulary forms one at a time and using them to construct gradually a cognitive structure, which is called a "semantic object" since the input is linguistic. This semantic object (SO) represents the meaning of the sentence. Associated with each acoustic form are two items:

1. One or more cognitive structures representing the meaning or meanings of that form;
2. A set of *requests*. This is *an active request list*. Each request consists of an *instruction* to test the working environment, that is, the current SO, for some semantic or syntactic property, and an *action* to take if the test succeeds. For example, incorporate the current meaning into the SO, or, add or delete certain requests. If the test fails on one occasion, the request is executed again later.

Requests are basically *expectations*, semantic and syntactic, which are aroused by the occurrence of the form. When the requests are satisfied, some assumptions can be made about how to construct the meaning of the sentence. Function words have no meaning, they only add requests. Intuitively, *requests* are things to watch out for during decoding. For example, the verb "construct" might bring with it requests for an inanimate object and a subject. When the request is satisfied, a particular type of semantic building is done.

Often, the mutual semantic selection constraints created by requests are so great that little or no syntactic information is required to construct the SO corresponding to the total sentence. This is particularly true of verbs which often have numerous "slots" that must be filled by specific types of meaning-objects. These are slots associated with a set of requests added by a form, not slots *for* requests. Rieger's and Riesbeck's processing is, therefore, oriented toward determining the main verb of the sentence which provides a "core" meaning around which the balance of the Semantic Object can be constructed. In the final stage, which need not concern us here, the SO is stored in LTM by procedures which identify and substitute the referents of the diectic words and determined nouns.

Implications of IP model for vocabulary acquisition

1. The usual methods of acquiring vocabulary which are, for the most part, variants of paired-associate memorization are in principle ineffective. It is true that the *figurative*, quasi-perceptual, aspect of meaning can be attached to a word by this classical conditioning technique: if the sound is followed by a representation enough times, the sound alone will elicit it. But this is only a small part of the item which, as we have seen, carries with it an entire set of expectations (a request list); each item is really a complete little processing package. And *procedures cannot be memorized* since they are not representations. They can only be *learned*, which is not the same thing as being *memorized*.
2. All the processing for an item is habituated to the point that it requires only a split second to perform. Hence, we cannot reasonably teach vocabulary by giving the learner a set of verbal "expectation rules" for each item.
3. Riesbeck's routines (1974) "parse" the sentence, but the final output is a semantic object, not a syntactic description. Furthermore, these routines depend very heavily on semantic information and only look at syntactic information if semantic constraints are not sufficient to assign the word a unique role in the total SO. With Riesbeck's routines, semantic and syntactic analyses are not separate components but completely interdependent. To the extent that Riesbeck's routines constitute a valid psychological model, this suggests that "syntax" has no psychological reality apart from specific vocabulary and semantics; that attempts to teach comprehension of syntax abstracted from considerations of meaning are misguided, and that, in fact, syntax and inflections are less important to comprehension than vocabulary and semantics. It also suggests that abstract syntactic models which are basic to most current linguistic theories do not provide appropriate models for language comprehension.
4. The routines draw heavily on LTM's general and specific knowledge in order to decide which construals are "sensible" and which are not. Whether these references to general knowledge are included within a request set or are language-independent is not yet clear.

Implications of IP model for production

IP modelling of production is less advanced; in particular, the processing underlying articulation is not well understood. Goldman

(1974), however, has produced a computerized model of the "higher level" output procedures. Its operation is as follows:

1. Extra-linguistic processes isolate a particular LTM substructure (a "concept") to be expressed.

2. A series of *word-selection procedures* is applied to the concept. These are *discrimination nets* and operate by successive examination of various properties of the conceptual structure. The result of this is a particular "*output lexicon entry*." As soon as each lexical entry is found, it is put on a *syntactic network* list.

3. Each lexical entry has a frame of syntactic constraints which accompany it. For example, a transitive verb requires an object. This initiates a search, often recursive, for the items needed by the frame.

4. Each frame item (e.g., "direct object") calls in a routine which searches in the original concept for a structure capable of filling that frame.

5. If such a structure is found, the word-selection techniques are applied to it. The item thus found may initiate further frame search to fill out the expression of the concept.

6. Eventually all frames of all lexicon entries are filled. The "syntax net" then groups in phrases the set of words for the output, but not necessarily in correct order. A set of *linearization* routines orders the words and, presumably, forwards them for articulatory routines where an *articulatory plan* is produced. *This account of production processing has several interesting implications.*

— It would seem that the *production* lexicon and the *comprehension* lexicon have nothing in common but acoustic form, if that. There is as yet no evidence to show that, psychologically speaking, production grammar and comprehension have any close relation with one another either.

— Output vocabulary is as procedurally oriented as input vocabulary. A set of frames must become attached to each lexical entry and these "frames" represent sets of procedures. *Procedures cannot be memorized; they must be learned.*

— At least for English, verbs bring more frames with them than other words. In fact, *verbs appear to have more internal complexity*, both semantically and procedurally, than other lexical classes.

— *Word choice and grammatical structure choice are totally interactive;* each word selection creates syntax constraints and each syntactic constraint requires a word or words to be found. There is no abstract "syntactic competence" for production any more than for comprehension: the notion that students should, or can, be taught to manipulate "syntactic patterns" abstracted from content is simply nonsense.

— *Pattern drills* are often employed to build up production competence. Yet they are *almost ideally designed to bypass most of the processing* that is normally involved in the production of a spontaneous utterance. Consider the following aspects of such drills:

a) *Substitution drills* provide the student with a surface realization of practically the whole sentence. Word-selection and its associated frame-construction processes are completely bypassed since the substitution item is supplied. The few words that are changed are generated, not from an underlying concept, but from a surface rule, such as "change the verb to the plural when the subject item has a plural marker."

b) *Conversion drills*, sometimes called *transformation drills*, most frequently require only a rearrangement of the surface structure. Again, word selection and frame construction are bypassed; the only component most of these exercises can possibly bring into action is the linearization routine.

Of course, drills of these types can be designed more effectively, but only if the student is asked to construct the *concept* corresponding to the substitution or the transformation and express this in the appropriate syntactic form.[2] The crucial aspect of drills, however, seems to be not how they are designed but how the student acts with respect to the drill.

If we make the assumption which our discussion to this point indicates to be a reasonable one, that procedures cannot be habituated except through repeated execution, and further postulate a "principle of least effort," namely that a process not required will normally not be performed, we may conclude that output processing will not be learned until our students are generally *expressing thought* in the language they are learning. Such would be the case, for example, if they were asked to paraphrase a brief story or paragraph to which they had been listening.

— There is a delicate *relation between vocabulary and syntax.* Each new vocabulary item gives additional direction to word choice (i.e., degrees of freedom) and reduces the danger that the word choice routine will simply fail to find some portion of the concept to be represented and the student be left speechless. On the other hand, each new item brings with it the requirement that new procedures be habituated, raising the danger of syntactic incoherence until they have been so habituated.

— *Some aspects of language performance fall outside the province of these models*—notably synonymity, antonymity, word-association structures, lexical fields, and word sense promotion. These appear to be a function of very abstract perceptual features of word meaning. Little is known about the mechanisms underlying association and less about the acquisition of foreign-language associative structures. Associations are neither memorized (in general) nor learned by rule, nor explicitly learned at all, but result from extended massive contact with the language. For this reason it is likley that *word association tests* would give a more delicate index of proficiency in a second or foreign language than many of the techniques currently in use.

---

[2] See Rivers' Type B exercises in W. M. Rivers, 1975, *A Practical Guide to the Teaching of French* (New York, O.U.P.), Chapter 4: 130–34, or W. M. Rivers, 1973, From Linguistic Competence to Communicative Competence, ***TQ*** 7: 23–34.

What answer, then, may we give to our question "what do we do when we use a language?" The answer appears to be that we perform highly habituated procedures, which are conceptually based. Although we do not yet fully understand how procedures are learned, we may be certain they are not representations and they are *not learned by memorization.* We do not "learn" vocabulary by memorizing target-language/native-language pairs. We do not "learn" grammar by memorizing verbal rules or formal patterns. At its worst, "memory work" (as we understand it in memorization techniques) constitutes an irrelevant distraction; at its best it is a simple preliminary to the true process of language learning.

References

Bartlett, F. L. 1932. *Remembering.* London, Cambridge University Press.

Broadbent, D. E. 1958. *Perception and communication.* London, Pergamon Press.

Carroll, J. B. 1974. Learning theory for the classroom teacher. In G. A. Jarvis, ed., *The challenge of communication.* ACTFL Review of Foreign Language Education, Vol. 6, Skokie, Ill., National Textbook Company.

Ebbinghaus, H. 1885. *Memory: A Contribution to experimental psychology.* Trans. by H. A. Ruger and C. E. Bussenius 1913. New York, Teachers College, Columbia University.

Goldman, N. 1974. Computer generation of natural language from a deep conceptual base. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University.

Posner, M. I., and S. W. Keele. 1973. Skill learning. In R. M. W. Travers, ed., *Second handbook of research on teaching,* 805-31. Chicago, Rand McNally.

Reiger, C. 1974. Conceptual memory: a theory and computer program for processing the meaning content of natural language utterances. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University.

Riesbeck, C. 1974. Computational understanding: analysis of sentences and context. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Standford University.

Schank, R. 1972. Conceptual dependency: a theory of natural language understanding. *Cognitive Psychology 3,* 552-631.

Thorndike, E. L. 1932. *The fundamentals of learning.* New York, Teachers College, Columbia University.

A Complete Listening Comprehension Program for English Language University-Preparation

JAN DEMMING MONTASSIR

Aural comprehension as an essential part of learning English has been receiving more and more attention of late. The reason is the growing awareness that even people who have been studying English for years, and do very well in grammar, vocabulary, reading, composition—even speaking, have enormous difficulties when confronted with the real everyday speech of native speakers (see Richard Sittler, *Forum* Special Issue, Vol. XIII, Part 1, 1975: 417) as well as the university classroom situation, which demands thorough comprehension of lectures and discussion, and simultaneous note-taking in English. The *need* to focus on aural comprehension has been recognized, but fruitful techniques and materials are slow in coming. One can easily give his classes practice with unorganized "bits and pieces" of spoken English, but a more structured approach based on the recognition of aural comprehension as a skill which is developed over a period of time, and which can be aided by proper guidance, like reading, is what we need.

The English language program with which I work prepares students for a university education completely in English. This assumes two basic areas of competence in aural comprehension:

1) Ability to understand conversational English
2) Ability to listen to, understand, remember in the short-term, evaluate, organize, write down very quickly, and later retrieve academic information, in the form of lectures given spontaneously or from notes, as well as classroom discussion.

Our students come to us on the intermediate level having had some experience with conversation in English, so that is the point at which we must begin with them. We certainly cannot expect them, at this junction in their language learning experience, to be able to handle all the skills mentioned in 2 above.

What we have recognized, then, is that a systematic procedure for selecting and sequencing aural comprehension materials, with the goal the ability to take good outline form notes from a well-organized 50-minute lecture, must be followed. Our program is based on the three following assumptions:

1. Conversational-type material is easier to comprehend than lecture-type material.
2. Short passages are easier than long passages.

This selection is based on teaching done in a workshop at the 1976 TESOL Convention. Jan Demming Montassir teaches at the American University of Cairo, Cairo, Egypt.

3. Listening for specific information is easier than unfocused listening in which information must later be recalled from memory.

The goal of our *intermediate* course in aural comprehension is to guide students to a high level of competence in the comprehension of everyday English, including different accents, and to lay a foundation for their understanding of "academic" English with short exercises. At the advanced level, our concentration turns to lecture situations and notetaking, which require dealing with much more sophisticated language vocabulary-wise, being able to handle many skills simultaneously, and comprehending lectures as a whole as well as in terms of specific detail. The student listens to much longer selections, has to process what he hears, and must be able to interpret his notes with the same clarity 2 months hence as on the day he wrote them.

INTERMEDIATE CLASSES

Our intermediate-level classes meet for half an hour daily. We have experimented with 50 minute classes at this level, but the concensus of the teachers is that 50 minutes' worth of intensive listening at one time is simply *too much* for intermediate students. Half an hour, which probably means 15-20 minutes of actual listening, is a more appropriate estimate of what we can expect of students at this level of competence. In the 5 classes per week, we are striving to bring our EFL learners from the conversation-listening level to a level at which they can just begin to work with the academic material of lectures.

The following are the main elements of our intermediate level programs, sequenced according to the 3 assumptions mentioned above:

1. Instructions for drawings, such as are used in some of the lessons of *Listen and Guess*, by Robert and Virginia F. Allen. The speaker tells the students to draw shapes and objects in specific places until they produce pictures like the original he is describing.

   The reason this exercise is more elementary than some of the others described below is that *all* the information given by the speaker is significant. In other words, the student need not carefully sift through what he is hearing; he knows that all of it is essential to performing the required task. The *Listen and Guess* tapes are conversational and short (about 5 minutes).

2. Listening to short (about 5 min.), spontaneous, interview-type conversations with specific questions about what is being discussed. The questions are in front of the student the whole time, and usually 2 "listenings" are required for him to be able to get most of the answers. The questions serve to focus the listener's attention. In our program an excellent British tape series and text are used, *Listen to This* by Mary Underwood (Oxford University Press). To our knowledge, no commercially produced American equivalent exists. The subject of most of the selections in this series is the profession of the person being interviewed. We have now begun our own series with American speakers. The teacher can point out such features of conver-

sation as unfinished questions, restatements, clarifications, etc. The content of interview-conversations sometimes brings them close to the short lecture for brief moments. This kind of material is a rich source for new vocabulary, and gives good practice in guessing meanings from the context, a skill also being developed in reading classes. Again, the passages are short and conversational.

3. Bicultural "miniplays": Particularly when one is dealing with a student group of homogeneous background, these miniplays are fun. They are based on the problem of cultural misunderstanding. The characters include at least one native and one non-native speaker put into situations in which they are confused as to how to interpret and react to the other's actions and words. Such a situation might be dating or an invitation to a meal and the customs and formalities which go with that. On tape we hear the speakers' thoughts in the form of a loud whisper, and what they actually say is spoken normally.
   These "episodes" are again short and conversational, and students can be asked, as a group, to listen for the points of cultural contrast. Sound tracks of target language plays and good tape dialogues can be used in somewhat the same way if they deal with everyday subjects. A good example of such a play is Richard Via's *Never on Wednesday*, last published in *Forum* Special Issue Vol. XIII, Part I, 1975:163.
4. Films: We use suitable films of less than 20 minutes once a week in our classes. Films are always interesting and provide a natural context in which to learn to listen efficiently. Again, questions are provided and answered while the film is being watched and it can often be seen twice. We are careful not to choose any films with subtitles so that the group is forced to try to comprehend everything in English. Hopefully this practice also encourages them, when seeing an American or British film at a down town movie theater, to get everything from the sound track and not rely on subtitles.

Keeping in mind the 3 criteria for sequencing listening material, films can also be organized into an easy-to-hard progression, keeping students challenged, but not frustrated, throughout the semester. For example, "story" films are easier than films on subject areas presented by a narrator (a lecture-type experience). Films that depend relatively little on the sound track, and very heavily on the visual element, are of course easy. Short films are better for early in the semester, in general. And one can also control difficulty to some extent by the kinds of questions asked, as in 2 above. It is sometimes a good idea to remind students that they need not understand every detail to still understand a great deal from any given selection.

The subjects covered in our film program are many and varied. Here is a sampling:

"A Musician in the Family": a story about a Canadian farm boy who becomes extremely interested in his trombone against the better judgment of his father. This film is mainly dialogue.

"Science Report—Antarctica": a more academic film in orientation, but still of general interest to all. It gives an overview of the kind of research which is going on on the southernmost continent without too much detail to make some of the non-science students feel left out.

"Graig Fischer, M.D.": a biographical film about the life of a doctor at the NASA space station in Houston.

"More Milk for More People": a film intended to advertise for the dairy exporters of Canada, but excellent for practice with numbers (weight of cows, weight and percentage of butter fat production, pounds of milk per day, prices of prize cows, etc.).

Films are easy to use and enjoyable for all—students and teachers alike. The questions have 2 functions:

1) They provide, again, a focus for the listening.
2) They make students feel that watching the film is a serious activity too, not just weekly entertainment. Be sure the film is generally interesting, the sound is clear, and your questions are reasonable, and you will find this a very worthwhile activity.

Most of the films we use are on loan from the Canadian Embassy and U.S.I.A., but many other embassies also have collections of films in English: the Indian, British, Japanese, Nigerian to name just a few.

5. "What to Say" dialogue technique.

The "What to Say" series is a BBC production. It consists of recordings of typical conversations in common situations, such as asking for a room in a hotel. In the older version, the dialogue is presented once straight through, once with pauses for repetition, and again straight through. In the newer version, there is not a recording with pauses, making this version better for a higher level of students than the older one.

In following the steps listed below with the "What to Say" recordings, students are hearing, concentrating on, and using functional oral English in short but complete units. The focus on useful expressions and subsequent utilization of these expressions almost insures that these expressions are thoroughly learned, both for recognition when a student is listening and production when he is speaking.

Below is the procedure we use with the "What to Say" dialogues, omitting step 2 with strong intermediate students.

1. Students listen to the recording, answer general comprehension questions, discuss any new vocabulary.
2. Students listen again, repeating each line of dialogue.
3. Students listen again, writing down the particularly useful or interesting expressions they hear.
4. The teacher asks for useful expressions, discussing and correcting mistakes.
5. In pairs, students try to write a conversation similar to the one which they heard.
6. The conversations are handed in for corrections. The corrected versions may later be learned and acted out.

6. Microtext: The Microtext technique was first tried here at the suggestion of Earl Stevick. Briefly, it is a spoken paragraph, but it uses oral style. The teacher talks about any subject extemporaneously, which requires a kind of confidence perhaps only the experienced teacher has. The following steps should be followed:

a) Decide what to talk about (something in the news, an English proverb, a personal "incident," something the class wants to know about) trying to make it as spontaneous and conversational as possible.
b) Talk for 30 seconds, not more. Say the passage from memory 2 times.
c) Ask for clarification questions (vocabulary items, etc.). At this point one has an excellent opportunity to talk about the differences between the oral and written modes as exemplified in what he has said including the use of contractions, idioms, and other features in informal speech.
d) Say passage again.
e) Ask the students questions about the passage: yes-no questions and 2-choice questions (builds up confidence and rebuilds the whole story). Purpose is to get the right answers.
f) Say passage again.
g) Invite students to give any sentences they remember (limit each student who wants to speak to one sentence only).
h) Say the passage again if it still needs clarification OR:
i) Ask someone to give the whole passage; then 1 or 2 others trying to do it faster.
j) They write as close to the original as possible.

In the microtext, students have the opportunity to intensely analyze a spontaneous oral unit from the point of view of intonation, pronunciation, etc. as well as grammar. At a higher level of proficiency, the microtext loses its usefulness, but at this level there is a need for a close "look" at language. Whereas the technique described with "What to Say" involves phrases and sentences, the microtext represents a stream of speech. The student hears how various discreet elements connect and continuous thoughts are expressed. What he hears must be processed in order to be reproduced, and it is this *processing* which helps a student later; i.e., after processing the discreet items in a microtext passage, the student will be better able to recognize and process the same kind of items in other listening situations, giving him more time, then, for the processing of *new* elements in the new listening situation.

7. Microlecture: The microlecture attempts to attune the student to specific cues in a lecture context (see Robert Weissberg, *FORUM*, July-September, 1974: 27). The aim is to sharpen awareness of recurrent features in the language which carry a heavy semantic load, expecially in the lecture context.* As Weissberg says, the recognition

---

* This exercise can be extended to extra-linguistic features; e.g., the lowering or raising of voice level to indicate a digression or a return to the body of the lecture.

of such features must be at the subconscious level before the student can deal effectively with the mass of information presented in a good lecture. In addition, the student is forced to write down parts of what he hears very quickly, which will be a useful skill later when he is confronted with a real notetaking situation.

After the student has listened to a short lecture selection (5-6 minutes) for specific cues (e.g., order markers, example markers, markers of importance such as superlatives, negating words and phrases, qualifiers such as "if" clauses, etc.) and made some kind of note of them, he is asked to listen again and answer several questions involving the cue he has just been listening for. This puts the concept back into context. We ordinarily use the same lecture passage for two days' work, pinpointing different cues and asking different questions the second day. In other words, the passage is heard 4 times, but with a different focus each time. It is at this point, then, after previous careful building, that real lecture material is first introduced.

The easiest way to develop microlectures is to write out short passages, being careful to use the desired cues, and then to read them or have them available on tape. However, this is *not* the best way. The best way is to take integrated segments of recorded lectures given in real lecture situations without scripts and listen for some of the common cues just as the student would. Decide which ones happen to occur most frequently and pinpoint them as the focus of that particular exercise. The latter method ensures that the student is given a sample of natural speech, whereas, the former has two faults. The first is that it is basically a sample of literary language, which means the kind and distribution of semantic cues is different from what would be heard in a real oral situation. The second fault is that the writer is bound to overuse the cues he wants specified if he is writing with that purpose in mind.

8. Short taped lectures with special exercises: Again, the lectures used should ideally be genuine classroom lectures. The most obvious kind of accompanying exercise is what was described previously for conversation-listening and films—questions to be answered while listening. A much more interesting exercise, and one which requires the quick *evaluation* of material, is the True-False technique. The student listens to a lecture as he follows a series of True-False statements pertaining to the information he is hearing. A written statement may have the same meaning as something mentioned on the tape, but different wording. The student must quickly analyse the written statement as well as what he hears, mark T or F, and be ready for the next statement when it comes up in the lecture. This kind of exercise gives very good practice in selection, analysis, and synthesis of material, which is an integrated, continuous process during note-taking.

The above-mentioned 8 types of materials and techniques constitute the first semester's work in listening. We have gradually brought the student from conversation to lecture, but with the latter, we have merely "scratched the surface." Before leaving the intermediate level, let me stress the importance of variety in listening classes and note the fact that we use 3-5 different types of the above materials every week in our classes. However, numbers 1-5 are used at the beginning of semesters, while 6-8, with 4, are used toward the end.

ADVANCED CLASSES

At the advanced level, half-hour aural comprehension classes are replaced by a daily hour-long course called "Study Skills." The *main* purpose of this course is to teach students to take notes from university level lectures, and preferably outline notes if at all possible for a particular lecture.

1. To reach this goal, we begin with McGraw-Hill's *Listening and Notetaking*, which is a programmed course very gradually leading the student to be able to take outline notes from short selections unaided. (This course was designed for native speakers, but is just as effective with EFL students who are going into an English language academic environment.) We use it as a classroom text more than a programmed text, but it can be used either way. The book, from McGraw-Hill's Basic Skills Series, deals with these topics:

   I. Listening for the Main Idea
   II. Listening for Details (relevant, irrelevant, etc.)
   III. Notetaking: Basic Methods (abbreviations, keywords, etc.)
   IV. Notetaking: Outlines
   V. Notetaking: Classroom Situations.

At the same time, the student is learning to outline more and more difficult written passages (another aspect of "Study Skills"). Our program begins with the outlining chapter in Richard Yorkey's *Study Skills* (McGraw-Hill) and leads up to outlining textbook-style passages of some length. This activity continues intermittently through the entire semester.

2. From live lectures given to our students in a variety of subject areas (see #3 below), we have selected 4 for a *lecturette* series. The lecturettes are integrated portions of lectures or complete lectures ranging from about 15-40 minutes in length which are used to help teach how to take outline notes. They are superior lectures in terms of their organization, but they are very definitely not "read" lectures. In addition, they have all been recorded in live lecture situations, which means they include student responses in some cases, coughs, and various other "classroom noises," thus accustoming students to the normal interference and distractions they will have to overcome. The lecturettes are ordered, and accompanying each is a set of partial notes, which become progressively more skeletal. Lecturette 1 is nearly

complete, leaving very few spaces for the student to fill in. Lecturette 12, on the other hand, provides very little for the student—main headings only, in fact. This series has proved very successful in our program. It is an excellent bridge between the programmed text and the live lectures described in 3 below, and we hope it will be available commercially in the near future. A partial sample from the middle of the series, Number 7, follows.

PARTIAL SAMPLE OF STUDY SKILLS LECTURETTE NUMBER 7

Subject: Political Science Terms

Instructions: Fill in the blank spaces of the notes provided on this sheet as you listen to the tape of Study Skills Lecturette 7.

1. ____
    A. Peace of Westphalia—16 ________
        1. end of ____
        2. begin. of mod. internat'l sys.
            a. ____
            ____
            ____
            b. free to do what it wishes in its own territory
    B. ______________________________
        1. def—unit wh. has:
            a. ________________
            b. ________________
            c. gov't
            d. ____
        2. def. is ____

3. From all departments of the university we request a professor to give our students a lecture on more or less whatever topic he chooses. The coordinator of the Study Skills course informs the lecturers, however, that the students have different backgrounds, so the topics should be general enough for all. In addition, each lecture should be as clearly and simply organized as possible because the group is just learning to take notes, and will be trying to taken them in outline form. These lectures start about 6 weeks into the semester, and are scheduled once weekly. By the time they get underway, the students should know how to outline written material and will have had quite a lot of experience with notetaking from the programmed course and lecturettes. The lectures are later discussed in class; a quiz is given (for which the students generally use their notes) in order to test comprehension of the lecture, find out where the trouble spots were, etc. Attention is paid to both factual details and the ability to analyze or synthesize information, in the quiz questions. The quiz gives students experience with American university-type tests and shows them how good their notes really are in terms of being able to answer questions, especially when the teacher delays the quiz, forcing the student to rely on notes completely rather than memory. In our program, a list of useful academic vocabulary items in context from the lecture is drawn up and studied, supplementary readings or films before or after may be utilized, related lectures may be listened to and the lecture of the week itself, since it has been recorded, can be played again to show the student the areas of importance he may have missed.

Students themselves can play a role in making up quiz questions for other classes. Also the weekly lecture in conjunction with other materials may be the basis of an exercise which requires students to synthesize from several sources. The weekly lecture, then, provides meat for many different kinds of activities, primarily centered on notetaking.

Experience has shown that students in this course change from feeling that taking good, complete notes on a lecture is an impossible task for EFL students to knowing that they can be nearly as efficient as the best native speakers in a classroom lecture situation.

SOME GENERAL COMMENTS

1. One precaution about developing listening materials is *not* to slow down the normal flow of speech. Once the student is exposed to the normal speed of native speech, which is inevitable in the classroom situation if the teacher is a native speaker or a fluent speaker, he will resent going back to slower speech and find it boring. The vocabulary and syntax of a unit may be simplified, or the student may be exposed to a piece several times, but the rate of flow should not be altered. Until the student is accustomed to listening to natural speech flow, he will perform very poorly in unstructured, outside the classroom comprehension situations. Our goal is to "get him accustomed" as early as possible in the language learning process. After all, we are trying to help our students to understand English *as it is spoken and used.* This means, on the one hand, that the pace is normal, and on the other, that the members of the class are hearing real spoken English *as opposed to written or literary English being read aloud.* It only takes a short time for someone with a basic foundation in the target language to begin to pick up a great deal from a native speaker speaking at normal pace. Don't underestimate your students; challenge them!

2. While I am giving warning, let me mention the old teaching-testing dilemma. We must be constantly aware of which of these two we are actually doing. ALMOST EVERY KIND OF EXERCISE WE DO WITH OUR STUDENTS IS DONE TWICE, AND MOST OF THE LEARNING TAKES PLACE THE SECOND TIME THROUGH. If I play a listening selection just once while requiring the students to do a specified task, I am testing them. The best procedure seems to be: 1) to briefly introduce the material to be listened to, giving students a chance to predict what they might hear (as they probably are being trained to do in their reading classes for reading passages); 2) to play the selection while they try to do the required task; 3) to give them the right answers; 4) to let them listen again and really "tune in" on what they missed the first time, while reinforcing what they were already able to do. Step 3 may sometimes be omitted, but the importance of step 4 cannot be overemphasized.

3. The point of this description of my workshop has been to show *HOW* listening comprehension activities can be sequenced. A framework similar to the one described here *must* be employed, for if listening comprehension is not viewed as a developing ability, we find our students fluctuating daily between boredom and frustration, both of which preclude *learning*, and our course is a failure. Hopefully, the guidelines I have presented will be useful in re-thinking a listening comprehension class syllabus.

Films and Sociolinguistic Awareness

R. PAUL MURPHY

Films and sociolinguistics—can they be combined into an effective teaching method, into what scholars like to call a synthesis? They can. The productions of Hollywood—selected, of course—have given my own classes in Current English Usage a welcome escape from the classroom. Nothing else I know of can produce quite the same sense of adventure, not the texts we assign, the discussions we engender, not the situations we invent. About all of these, something inevitably proves artificial, constrained or fabricated. And since we all deal not just with language but with the kaleidoscope of roles, purposes, situations and such that appear on the screen essentially as they do in life, the material of films is grist for your mill as well as mine.

But before I turn to films, allow me a brief, personal statement. I never have taught in the inner cities, on the reservations, or in second dialect programs. Still, I have watched the trends come and go. In 1969 many of us were present at the Georgetown Round Table where William Labov presented "The Logic of Nonstandard English." Since then his insistence that "nonstandard" means neither "inferior" nor "without rules" has even begun to spread beyond our profession. At the same meetings both Betty Wallace Robinett and Virginia French Allen posed the yet-to-be-answered question of how far we might go in our attempts to treat second-dialect learners as second-language learners. In the discussion following her presentation Professor Allen remarked (197): "The more we can stimulate the students' interest in language as something worth observing and mastering, the less need [illegible] will be for mechanical drills." She joined others at the conference in the opinion that nonstandard speakers often know more about standard forms than we foolishly infer from the speech they let us hear. In the attention paid to language just for the fun of it or in the trying out of uncharacteristic speech forms for the effect of it, I see second-dialect learners and usage students as more and more alike.

Teachers can afford to let scholars disagree. Last year James Sledd and David Eskey exchanged harsh opinions of one another and, supposedly, their respective positions on dialect teaching. Neither seems to argue, though, that greater appreciation for language as a social tool would do any of us any harm. Even the drill-oriented authors of *Keys to American English* use their preface to make it clear they

---

This selection is based on teaching done in a presentation at the 1976 TESOL Convention. R. Paul Murphy teaches in the Department of English, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona 85281.

wish to "help students to become sensitive to the creative possibilities inherent in the English language." Considering how difficult it is for educators to agree on policy first and then to agree further on its implementation, I see no wrong in encouraging students to do much of the work in developing their own sociolinguistic sense of wonder. Everything is by no means known about the processes by which we use language for ill or for good. We can as easily learn from discussions with our perceptive students as from the articles of our mentors. And we—and this is my point—can use films to spark these discussions.

Still we must help students as they watch the films. They need guidelines. Dell Hymes, one of the leaders in a return to humanism in language study, can teach us how to build such models. His introduction to an anthology prepared in 1972 with Cazden and John impresses me as one of the best essays available on the potential of sociolinguistics applied to education. There he encourages teachers to be their own ethnographers—to learn the place of language in the lives of their own students. He emphasizes (xix) that "The key to understanding language in context is to start, not with language but with context." But observations limited exclusively to the context of the classroom have never excited either me or my students and surely done little justice to our combined understanding of the social richness of language. There are only so many contexts natural to a classroom! We have to have some more interesting behavior to observe and, again, some idea of what to look for in it.

Texts to introduce study constantly appear. About the best I have used lately has been *Word Play* by Peter Farb. It can be read effortlessly and in blissful unawareness of the scholarship it reflects. My students take to it immediately, and yet their interest usually lags when it comes time to discuss assignments. On happy occasions anecdotes and testimonials flow, but more often they just dribble out painfully. It isn't that the students lack interest; something else is at work. Something sociolinguistic, I suppose. They have not felt comfortable acting or confessing. Have they even suppressed good anecdotes rather than labor through them? "Put-downs" and "cop-outs" may be fun to read about, but once Farb has had his say, isn't it a bit foolish to say it again?

It is best when behavior occurs spontaneously—when it can be reacted to immediately. And films provoke such reactions; they foster spontaneity. Through a panoply of situations, they introduce an endless variety of characters. Real stuff. Or sometimes stuff so unreal that one wants to figure out what is wrong. Convinced that certain films portray aspects of life which reach my students, arrest their attention, and get them involved, I have used a number of Hollywood's products. Perhaps second-dialect teachers could do the same.

But the model, the guidelines—where are they? Obviously any such model must be very general. It should not fetter the imaginations of students, nor should it allow them so much annoying freedom that they are lost. Beginners want and need help. Hymes can provide it.

Some of you may have heard Allen Grimshaw address a general session of the 1972 TESOL Convention, or you may have read the text of his address in the *Quarterly* the following year. The talk was based on a half-humorous but useful approximation of the range of social influences affecting speech acts. The paradigm which Grimshaw talked about, first proposed by Hymes in 1967, fitted an impressive sociolinguistic awareness into the appropriate, memorable acronym *SPEAKING*. *S* was "setting," *P* "participants," *E* "ends," *A* "art characteristics," *K* "key," *I* "instrumentalities,' *N* "norms," and *G* "genre." Though Hymes altered the terms a bit in 1972, I keep the original values to encourage comparison with Grimshaw's address.

What films, then, have I chosen as raw material for applying this model, this acronym, searching for these variables contained and involved in *SPEAKING*? Three only: *Pygmalion*, an early screen version of the play by Shaw; *The Yearling*, a best-seller some years ago and later a movie; and *A Thousand Clowns*, a relatively recent film that may do better in classrooms than it ever did at the box office. Preferring to ignore the artistic question of whether cinema ought to reflect reality or somehow transcend it, I believe that, for the purposes I have in mind, there are good reasons for sticking to straightforward vehicles. These three pictures come from separate decades, respectively from the Thirties, the Forties, and the Sixties, but they all focus on certain "timeless" issues. They are simple and direct, laced with dialogue, and stocked with interesting characters in compelling situations. Each offers a particularly teachable range of linguistic data. Let me illustrate now some of the virtues I have found in each of them in light of the Hymes model.

"Setting," *S* in the acronym, just as with the stage directions for a play, involves the intersection of time and place—time and place considered in their fullest cultural senses. Behavior—total behavior, not just speech—appropriate to a particular place at one time may be inappropriate there at another. *Pygmalion* is rich with amusing illustrations of outlandishly inappropriate behavior, and for our purposes, that is good; some of our best insights to rules come from the recognition of their violation. For example, Liza Doolittle, the flower girl turned lady, finds herself in a wondrous strange new setting when Professor Higgins takes her to an "at home" afternoon at his mother's. Her orders are strict: hold to two topics, the weather and everybody's health. She gets by well enough—even if a little awkardly—in the first topic, but from the time she begins with

"My Aunt died of influenza. . ." all sense of "at home" decorum is shattered. Her aunt, she explains, nearly drank herself to death (Gasps from the Edwardians in attendance), but she did not die after all. Instead she "come to so sudden that she bit the bowl off the spoon." Everyone is shocked. To be sure, this young lady has some elegant ways, but she clearly does not respect custom. Higgins provides the explanation: she is speaking "the new slang." The explanation is a recourse to the *G*, "genre," in Hymes' acronym—obviously no less related to a total appreciation of *SPEAKING* than is "setting." This tea-party scene is classically funny. My students have enjoyed it enormously. And often they have ferreted out details that had never occurred to me. We had started as equals.

P, recall, is for "participants." It seems that all members of society are seldom equals. Sons have fathers, workers have bosses, and nearly everybody may acquire a tax auditor. What matters most in this variable is the social space—more simply, the role—we occupy in any given encounter. Murray Burns, the zany eccentric in *A Thousand Clowns*, usually prefers the role of critic-at-large. Most of the time his happiest stance is that of fun-poker at all that is sacred and holy. But another participant in Murray's drama tones him down—at least some of the time. This is the male caseworker from the Child Welfare Bureau, Mr. Amundsen. Murray is feigning the throes of a horrible death in the hallway of his apartment building when Mr. Amundsen first appears. "Are you Mr. Burns—Mr. Murray Burns?" he inquires. "Not for long. Somebody's poisoned my Cracker Jacks" is the response. But Murray quickly catches on. Nick, his twelve-year-old nephew, may be taken away from him unless he can demonstrate his suitability as guardian. He quickly does the right thing: he invites the social worker and his pretty female partner into the apartment. The girl is a freshly-minted Ph.D. in psychology, inexperienced in social work, and, we later learn, about to become Mrs. Albert Amundsen. During the incongruous interview that follows, the range of names with which the characters address one another provides a barometer of their shifting feelings. Murray never quite brings himself to the use of "Mr. Amundsen." As his attitudes toward the other character run from relative respect to abuse, the names for him range from "Albert" to "Al," and once, "buddy." The other social worker receives different treatment. Quite different. He falls in love with her. A student may say, "That's not language!" I say, "Look at it more closely." The irreverent Murray extracts Dr. Markowitz's first name from her. It is "Sandra"—pronounced with a very broad "a." Murray won't stand for that: she is immediately "Sandy." But he does occasionally call her "Miss Markowitz" in mock respect, and once "*Dr.* Markowitz"—with emphasis yet tenderness—when she is embarrassed to be crying "right in front of him." Maybe the funniest variations are Mr. Amundsen's names for his partner and future wife. Sometimes, when he is being professional, she is "Miss Markowitz." When he remembers to be even more professional she is "or *Dr.* Markowitz—actually." Sometimes, when his guard drops a bit she is "Sandra" (with that broad "a"), and once in frustration (and off together in a corner) she is "dear." The interview is great fun to watch, but it is especially good data because the names never quite allow us to forget who these people are and what they are supposed to be doing.

Much more could be said about participants and the roles they play. In each of the three films one notable character learns the appropriate behavior for a role he or she must soon take up. In *The Yearling*, Jody Baxter observes his Pa to learn the ways of speech and action appropriate to a man. Nick, in *Clowns*, is supposedly learning the same things from Murray, but the desirability of the example is less certain. Finally, Shaw's Liza Doolittle must learn the ways of a real lady. She confides at last that she never so much needed a model as the clear encouragement to put to use what she pretty well already has known. She claims this motivation was inspired by Pickering rather than the crusty character of Higgins. I ask classes, "Might there be some parallel here to any second-dialect learner's readiness to put the oppressor's or the friend's speech to use?"

E, "ends," means "goals," or "purposes," and also "results." A speaker generally intends something when he chooses to talk in a particular way. And if he has sized up his listener properly he may get what he wants. There is so much social psychology involved here that a long and separate paper could be given dealing with our willingness to abandon our identity when we modify our behavior. The large implications of course go back to what I have already suggested about Jody's desire to take up his father's ways or Nick's unwillingness to be too much like Murray.

We can easily discuss this variable at a less pretentious level. Any extended speech act reflects the ends of its participants. Both Shaw's Liza and her father intend to intimidate Higgins in their first encounter in his home. However delightful their fumblings may be, both are easily out-maneuvered by the verbally adroit phonetician. Liza has intended to entice the professor into giving her speech lessons, and while she does achieve this end, it is not because she has won any verbal duel. The same goes for Alfred Doolittle. He may leave Wimpole Street with the five pounds he has gone there for, but it is only as a result of his amusing Higgins—not conning him.

In *Yearling*, Jody's Pa also has an end in mind for the telling of his fearsome bear-hunting yarn. (That's a genre too.) He tells it well—so well he ends up trading an admittedly useless dog for a gun he has badly needed. Jody learns a very important thing about "man-talk": sometimes it pays to be sneaky.

A in Hymes' acronym represents those "art characteristics" which are the means by which we achieve our ends. The effectiveness of verbal manipulation is at the heart of this variable, but so are the recognizable and expected stages we tend to move through as we present our arguments. Most extended speeches must proceed in a fairly standard order; otherwise, they fail. Thus, in *Pygmalion*, Higgins perceives Eliza's "What I always say is. . ." as a signal that she is about to begin another potentially disastrous speech, and he substitutes the preamble to her leave-taking. In *Clowns*, Murray continually overrides Nick's introductions to the inevitable "Get a Job" speech until, with pre-adolescent persistence, Nick finally gets through. The means by which we place procedural obstacles in another's verbal path, are, after all, means vital to our own verbal survival. They also make great topics for discussion. But not in the abstract—after you and your class have just seen a masterful presentation of them in a life-like situation.

Given world enough and time, the remaining variables in the mnemonic acronym could be similarly defended. All films are built on respect for what we all know of *SPEAKING*, just as all of life's communication is. But even as some of life's situations call forth more of one strategy than another as we take action in them, some films may teach one lesson better than others. *Pygmalion* is the obvious film for the presentation of the dialect issue. Dialect fits best into the *I*, or "instrumentalities," niche in Hymes' structure. *My Fair Lady*, the musical version of the same play, may be more familiar to your students. The songs, however, make that film about twice as long, and I prefer the older film.

In the real world there are times, places, persons, situations and all sorts of things which cause us to vary our speech. It may not always be a matter of cockney in contrast with a British Standard as in Shaw's world. In the world of our students it may be Black or Navajo English contrasting with an American Standard. Still, displacing the basic issues to an emotionally less charged Shavian arena may make difficult discussions easier. One last point on *Pygmalion*: body language, with all of its gestures and facial contortions, is included in Hymes' *K*, "key," and there is no more physically expressive character in any film than the irrepressible dustman, Alfred Doolittle.

The Yearling provides the best look at "norms," *N*, the symbol for matters of verbal etiquette. This variable cross-cuts many others, for there is little in social interaction that is not tied to something else. Jody must learn to talk this way with his Pa, that way with his Ma, like this with boys his own age, with humiliating civility with girls his age, and on and on. When he makes mistakes he generally gets corrected, but some corrections hurt more than others. When you cross Ma, that's bad, but you can tease Pa a bit and get away with it.

Finally, *A Thousand Clowns* might have a special appeal for the dialect speaker aware that, if the middle class gets its way, his walk will be different and his talk and his style. He may be beset with social caseworkers in his own neighborhood and get a great kick out of watching a Mr. Amundsen and a Dr. Markowitz get tangled up, jittering out of control in the make-believe world of the screen. "Serves them right!" But could he even come to like them a little if he tried to understand them better? If he could talk about their fumbling, identify the rules they were breaking, could he see the humans beneath the roles? It seems worth a try.

Films—available for rental, on television, and in theaters—give our overworked fraternity a means to share our love of language with our students. With all of their attendant excitement films produce student interest, student clarification, and sometimes rollicking student humor.

References

Allen, Virginia French. 1970. A second dialect is not a foreign language, in James E. Alatis, ed. *Monograph Series, No. 22*, 189–202. Washington, D.C., Georgetown University Press.

Eskey, David. 1975. Reply to James Sledd. *College English, 36*, 6, 703–6.

Farb, Peter. 1974. *Word play: what happens when people talk.* New York, Alfred A. Knopf.

Gefvert, Constance, Richard Raspa, and Amy Richards. 1975. *Keys to American English.* New York, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Grimshaw, Allen D. 1973. Rules, social interaction, and language behavior. *TESOL Quarterly, 7*, 2, 99–115.

Hymes, Dell. 1967. Models of the interaction of language and social setting. *Journal of Social Issues, 23*, 2, 8–28.

———. 1972. Models of the interaction of language and social life, in John J. Gumperz and Dell Hymes, eds. *Directions in Sociolinguistics*, 35–41. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Labov, William. 1970. The logic of nonstandard English, in James E. Alatis, ed. *Monograph Series, No. 22*, 1–43. Washington, D.C., Georgetown University Press.

Robinett, Betty Wallace. 1970. Teacher training for English as a Second Dialect and English as a Second Language: the same or different? in James E. Alatis, ed. *Monograph Series, No. 22*, 121–132. Washington, D.C., Georgetown University Press.

Sledd, James. 1975. Comment for David Eskey. *College English, 36*, 6, 699–703.

Composition: Controlled by the Teacher, Free for the Student

ANN RAIMES

In the professional literature on ESL composition, in research, and in composition texts, there has been a division into two camps—controlled and free composition. It is an unnatural division, perpetuated by the swing of the pendulum of methodology. Some writers and researchers come down squarely on one side or another, some suggest a mixture of the two, while others suggest a progression from control to freedom. Control is equated with quality, freedom with quantity of writing. The teacher who wants his intermediate-advanced level students to produce a quantity of writing with quality is in a dilemma. If he looks directly to the ESL composition texts to provide a workable composition course meeting all his students' needs, he will be disappointed by the selection offered him.

What do the texts do?

The ESL composition texts on the market tend to concentrate on either rhetorical or syntactic structure, but not on both. Those that focus on syntactic structure set up a progression. Students will work first on writing correct sentences using a specific grammatical structure, then will be assigned a controlled or guided composition, and then, only after all the drill will be allowed to reach the nirvana of the free composition. Their reward for all these long labors is the task of writing on topics such as "A Teacher in My Past" (Robinson 1975: 69), "A Good Place to Study" (Robinson 1975: 34), or "A Museum in your Country" (Ross and Doty 1975: 75).

Some texts concentrate on rhetorical structure and still provide drill tasks. They ask a student to examine a paragraph or essay model, work on pages of related exercises, and then write on exactly the same topic as the model, such as defining a friend (Bander 1971: 161–182), or on a related topic: "Rewrite these paragraphs, using another topic but keeping the transition words the same" (Paulston and Bruder).

In another type of rhetorically-based text, a sample paragraph of description, analysis, contrast or other traditional method of organization is discussed and is then followed by paragraph tasks on related topics. The student is asked, for example, to write a "short narrative essay" about "The New Teacher (or Student)" (Friend 1971: 66). The

---

This selection is based on teaching done in a presentation at the 1976 TESOL Convention. Ann Raimes is the Coordinator of the English for Bilingual Students Program at Hunter College, the City University of New York, New York, New York 10021. She also teaches in the Program.

word "narrative" is his guide to rhetorical structure; he finds no guidance for syntactic structure.

A few texts move away from drill and models. The student is given data to analyze, manipulate, and organize; there are some sentence-level exercises, but the emphasis is primarily on logical methods of organization, the assumption being that "intermediate or advanced-level students have a degree of proficiency in English grammar" (Lawrence 1972: 8).

Teachers whose students do not have a very advanced degree of proficiency look for help with rhetorical *and* syntactic structure; they turn to controlled composition texts, such as those by Baskoff, Kunz, Kunz and Viscount, and Paulston and Dykstra. The student produces a large amount of comparatively error-free writing. He makes changes in a given paragraph: he changes number, person, tense, or voice, adds clauses, or adds details. He works with given material, which he manipulates as directed. He thus copies rhetorical structure and manipulates syntactic structure.

What do teachers do?

The composition teacher has a choice. He can use a text addressed to grammatical and syntactic structure, progressing through controlled exercises to free composition. This he needs to supplement with his own high-interest, free composition assignments, hoping that they will teach the students something about rhetorical organization. Or he can use a text that is based on rhetorical structure, with models and drills on rhetorical forms, such as transitions and parallel structures. This he needs to supplement with another text for syntactic practice; otherwise, he produces pages of duplicated exercises to improve his students' sentence-level accuracy. With advanced-level students, he can use a text designed for native speakers if he thinks that "a large part of the curriculum in writing on the intermediate and advanced levels deals with an explicit analysis of principles of writing in English and does not differ markedly in content from a class in freshman composition" (Paulston and Bruder 1976: 236). The small part that is left is what troubles many teachers: how to integrate the improvement of composition with the improvement of grammatical and syntactic structure. There is no marked boundary between intermediate and advanced levels. The perfect sentence does not precede the perfect paragraph, which then precedes the perfect essay. In Zamel's survey of the research in English composition, she exhorts us to teach ESL composition classes in exactly the same way as composition classes for native speakers "if we are dealing with students who are truly ready to express and compose, not ones who are still dealing with the patterns and structures of the language" (1976: 71). *If* we had students like that, would an

ESL composition class pose so many problems? The diversity of skills within a class, the variety of skills to be taught, the uncertainty about the nature of the composing process, the conflicting views about free or controlled composition are the problems besetting the ESL composition teacher.

An ESL composition course might end up as "a futile hotch potch of essays, sentence building, structure drills and vocabulary exercises" (Green 1967: 141). This hotch potch is a result of the teacer's feeling that he *has* to deal with so many aspects of language learning when he teaches composition. He will emphasize control or freedom, or he will vacillate. Students work on controlled compositions, with some occasional assignments of free compositions; or they are asked to write journals or subjective, non-stop streams, with occasional grammar lessons in the middle. Unhappy with the texts, unhappy with the controlled/free dichotomy, unhappy with the "hotch potch," the teacher often turns to the research to try to find some help.

What does the research tell us?

Not much. There are some research studies in the teaching of English composition to native speakers, but there are hardly any in composition for English as a second language. Brière, as a result of his pilot study in 1966, emphasized the necessity of frequent and plentiful writing. That is, he stressed quantity rather than quality. However, he used a sample of only fifteen university students and gave sporadic grammar instruction along with the free writing that he was studying; he admitted that there were too many variables for his results of an increase in quantity and a decrease in error to be significant.

Another proponent of quantities of free writing is Erazmus, who advocated "large quantities of material" (1960: 28) and rapid writing with no revision or rewriting. However, studies in frequency of writing for English composition generally indicate that one does not learn to write merely by writing and that frequent writing without instruction might even be detrimental (see Dressel *et al.* 1952; Hunting 1967).

Opposed to the "quantity" school is the "quality" school; here students perform grammatical exercises, controlled tasks and manipulations before they are allowed to attempt a paragraph of their own invention. Dykstra and Paulston (1967) in a study of two groups, one with controlled tasks and one with free, found no increased proficiency in the former but found a difference in student behavior, in that papers were handed in on time, students asked for more work, and they voluntarily attended an extra conference hour. The assumption was made that "the most important theoretical justification for using controlled composition in the ESOL classroom lies in the realm of motivation" (Paulston 1972: 38) as there was no evidence to show "that controlled composition is a more efficient method for teaching composition" (Paulston 1972: 37).

In spite of the lack of evidence, controlled composition tasks proliferated (see Dykstra 1964; Pincas 1962; Moody 1965; Spencer 1965; Sojas 1968), all emphasizing models, manipulations, substitution—emphasizing, in short, grammatical facility. Research in the teaching of English composition, however, leads to the conclusion that "the teaching of formal grammar has a negligible or, because it usually displaces some instruction and practice in actual composition, even a harmful effect on the improvement of writing" (Braddock 1963: 37–38). Controlled compositions are not formal grammar instruction; however, the students are making grammatical manipulations, and their work is correct if it has no grammatical errors.

If the ESL composition teacher does not find any answers in the research, he still has to carry on teaching. He might have intermediate or advanced students with different levels of English and composition skills; some need basic syntactic structure instruction, others do not. Some write cohesive paragraphs, other do not. The teacher wonders what to do when he gets pages of free associations as a result of a free assignment, filled with grammatical and syntactic errors. On the other hand, he wonders what kind of motivation is revealed by the handing in of a lot of controlled compositions with relatively error-free sentences manipulated, not invented, by the student: the motivation to communicate, to write imaginatively, or to perform the habit and earn the reward? He wonders what controlled composition really teaches. One of its most avid proponents partially answers that for him by saying that "no amount of mechanical writing is going to teach a productive generating of sentences" (Paulston 1972: 41).

What is composition?

There are no easy answers to this question, though most teachers and researchers would probably agree that "a productive generating of sentences" plays a part in the composing process.

Controlled composition does not provide this productive generating. Controlled composition is a misnomer. Controlled it is, but composition it is not. The student does not invent and organize. That is done for him. He merely changes and manipulates sentences that someone else invented and organized. Bracy (1971) makes the distinction between writing and composition; controlled composition tasks are writing tasks, sentence exercises in paragraph disguise, and as such are useful for ESL students who need practice in grammatical structures and usage.

Free composition certainly entails a generating of sentences—and a great deal of correction time for the teacher. The teacher's time and effort is put in after the student has written; with journals, non-stop writing, and free composition, the teacher's input to the task is minimal: minimal assignment of topics and minimal guidance during the writing. The "freedom" here is freedom for the teacher, too. He is freed from the responsibility of establishing (controlling) the context for learning. That is a crucial task for any teacher.

In their efforts to teach composition, many teachers use controlled and free writing, some of each, some of the time, for some students (see Cave 1972). Instead of jumping on the bandwagon of methodology, using controlled composition, free composition, rhetorical models, substitution frames, journals and simulation games to vary a composition class format, we need to go back to consider what it is we want our students to learn, what our students want to learn, and what skills our students bring with them. Students bring a wide range of abilities, experiences, and language skills with them to the composition class. We need to devise ways to let them work on what they need to know, at their own pace. But first we have to know what we are aiming for.

The sparse research in ESL and English composition indicates that composing is an extremely complex process. Backed up by studies of sentence-combining (Mellon 1969; O'Hare 1973), teachers feel that syntax *and* rhetoric feature in the composition-learning process. They feel intuitively what Zamel concludes after her survey of research in ESL and English composition, that "syntax and rhetoric are complementary yet separate aspects of the writing process, neither one being responsible for improvement in the other" (1976: 73). Syntax and rhetoric do not, however, form a neat pedagogical sequence. Students will not master syntax and the mature sentence before they move on to master rhetoric.

These two complementary, separate aspects of composition were recognized in classical times. What we *do* know about written composition from classical rhetoric is that it consists of Invention ("the process, whereby subject matter for a discourse is discovered" or, more simply, finding something to say), Arrangement ("the ways in which material can be effectively organized in discourse"), and Style (effective "manner of discourse, or saying it well with acceptable grammar, diction and syntactic structure) (Winterowd 1968: 15–16). The native speaker of English learning how to compose has to learn how to form ideas, organize them, and express them well.

What is composition for the ESL student?

The ESL student has to address himself to the same three tasks, but he has more of a burden. He has to learn not only communicative competence in writing in a new language, but also he has to learn the rhetorical structure of the new language, which will probably be quite different from the rhetorical structure of his own language. "The ways in which sentences are related to each other in larger lumps of language constitutes something to be taught, not something to be assumed to exist universally across language and culture barriers" (Kaplan 1971: 55). The learning of these ways involves putting aside one system and using another, learning how coherence, unity, rhetorical form and style are "linguistically and culturally coded" (Kaplan 1971: 55). The ESL student has to master the grammar, syntax, and lexicon of the new language in addition to a new rhetorical structure. It is no wonder that teachers find that they have a lot to cover!

If we concentrate on free composition, we concentrate on invention; if we concentrate on controlled composition, we concentrate on syntactic structure (Style); if we concentrate on analyzing readings and working with a model, we concentrate on rhetorical structure (Arrangement). We need to find a way to work on all three aspects, to let students invent and organize their own ideas while they practice the rhetorical and syntactic structures of English.

What is the teacher's task?

The teacher can use control and freedom in his approach, but in a new way. His task is to establish the context for learning. In a composition class, he can do that best by exercising control in the setting of the task the student is to perform. Within that controlled situation, the student is free to invent his own ideas, put them into sentences and paragraphs, and organize them. When establishing this context for learning, the teacher has these three points to deal with:

1. the content for composition. As content can be regarded "principally as a vehicle to teach grammar and rhetoric" (Kaplan 1971: 55), the choice of task is crucial. Here is the place for control—teacher control. The teacher provides the content. He chooses interesting, challenging stimuli with intellectual content, but his task does not end there. He has to consider what kind of composition the task will generate.

2. the rhetorical structure generated by the content. A carefully chosen task will unobtrusively lead the student to write spatial order, chronological order, analysis, definition, comparison and contrast and other methods of organizaiton. He will not copy a model; he will not be told to use a specific paragraph pattern. He will write, and will become aware of the options open to him when he organizes.

3. the syntactic structures generated by the rhetorical structure. Certain kinds of organization lend themselves to the use of certain syntactic structures (see Kaplan 1971). For example, a comparison-contrast task will inevitably lead to the use of comparative and superlative

structures; a chronological narrative will lead to the use of the past tense; spatial order will generate prepositions of place.

If the teacher chooses the first of these three—the content—carefully enough, thereby predicting the other two, he will direct the student towards working on composition by working on invention, arrangement, and style.

Prediction is thus an important part of the teacher's task. Rutherford (1974: 184) discusses the value of oral syntactic exercises that "attempt to exert some measure of control—perhaps 'prediction' would be a better word—over the form of what comes out of the student's mouth." He adds that "the ideal practice in syntax would be to exercise that control without the student's realizing what is happening." For "out of the student's mouth" substitute "from the student's pen" and the teacher's role in establishing the context for learning composition is described. As soon as a topic is assigned by the teacher or chosen by the student, options are limited and there is control.

A composition course

Those of us who have struggled with pages and pages of free composition, pencil in hand and heart in boots, know how important it is to have the options limited; yet we still want our students to be expressing themselves and not merely performing mechanical exercises. The teacher can prepare tasks that allow free composition within the limits of the assigned task, and the assigned task is one that is carefully planned to give students practice in rhetorical and syntactic structure. With intermediate and advanced ESL students at Hunter College preparing for the required course in freshman composition, I have developed a course that attempts to combine control by the teacher and freedom for the student.

The students are given a stimulus to think about and write about: a picture, a cartoon, a piece of writing from literature or journals, a chart or graph, for example. They then invent and organize a response to that shared stimulus, thus responding to art, popular culture, literature, science, or the social sciences, whatever are their main interests. There is control here, but it is unobtrusive control. The assignment generates a particular method of development, such as a comparison or a description of a process, so the students are guided into using a rhetorical structure. A few questions, oral or written, directly from the teacher or from the teacher via another student, or directly from other students, will make each student examine the organization of his own ideas and ask the valuable question: "Why?" He considers the various ways to organize the ideas he has and discusses how and why some types of organization might be better than others. Thus he becomes aware of rhetorical structure as a feature of his own writing; he becomes aware that whenever he writes, he organizes and he has choices to make in that organizing process.

The control in the topic does not produce controlled composition. What the student writes in his own—his own response, expressed in his own sentences and organized into his own paragraph or essay. So the student is exercising his own initiative within a controlled situation. He is inventing and organizing. There are limits to his invention, as he does not go out and discover a topic and develop it from scratch. The control of the situation puts him on to a track, but once on it, what he says and how he says it is all his own. He is provided with some information, sensory or intellectual, and his invention goes to work on it.

The tasks the student works on have a double focus. Each one will lead him to look at his organization and compare it to his fellow students' organization (contrastive rhetorical analysis); it will also focus on just a few syntactic structures that the teacher knows the topic is likely to generate. This double focus gives the student the support he needs in his free composition. Questions lead him to examine the development and organization of his ideas. A grammatical and syntactic checklist can then guide him to examine and re-examine his composition to edit the few structures in focus. The teacher, too, can use this double focus in evaluating a composition and can use the checklist for correcting the composition, checking only for the listed structures and indicating rather than correcting errors. The student then knows what he is responsible for, and he is spared the distressing and often humiliating sight of a paper demolished by red ink.

The teacher, in marking the composition, can respond to the organization and the ideas and can diagnose problems with the structures in focus. If the student's writing shows that he needs practice, that is the time for controlled composition, sentence exercises, grammar explanations, or whatever is the teacher's preferred method of dealing with sentence-level accuracy. If the student reveals no difficulties with the syntactic structures in his written performance, then he certainly does not need to practice them. He can move on to another task at his own pace. This task will have a control similar to the first task; it will generate the same type of organization. The teacher can then, in response, concentrate solely on rhetorical organization or can mark the composition for any other grammatical or syntactic problems. By the second or third task of this type, the student usually corrects the syntactic structures in focus and begins to experiment with organization. The teacher can then direct him to experiment with syntactic structure, combining his own sentences, for example.

Students do not progress in a predictable lock-step sequence in composition. A teacher can take this into account if he provides the control of a few carefully chosen stimuli for practice in invention and organization and lets each student in the class do as many of the tasks as necessary. Some might write, for example, three compositions that use sources (reported speech) to support a point of view; some might write only one and spend more time working on the mechanics of writing reported speech.

In this course, there are, therefore, three task levels in each unit:

1. A free task, with a rhetorical and syntactic focus.
2. Back-up tasks, for additional practice in the syntactic structures in focus.
3. Follow-up tasks of free composition, related to the first in rhetorical and syntactic focus.

A sample unit in the course

Stimulus: a painting with few details and a clear focus, presented as a slide, photograph, poster, or postcards. Magritte, Peto, Hopper, Wesselmann can all be used. This unit uses Magritte's *Portrait*, which shows a table setting. There is an empty glass and a full bottle of wine. Below them, from right to left, there is a black-handled knife, a fork with the prongs turned down, and a white plate with a slice of ham on it. In the middle of the slice of ham, looking out at the viewer, is an eye.

Rhetorical focus: describing an arrangement of objects
organizing a paragraph: spatial and climatic order
Syntactic focus: there is/there are
use of articles: a/an/the
countable nouns (glass, bottle) and uncountable (wine, ham, meat)
prepositions of place

Task: Discuss Magritte's *Portrait* with a partner. Magritte presented his image with a brush and oil paints. Can you, with the writer's tools of a pen and words, present as clear an image to your reader as Magritte presents to the viewer of his painting?

Write a short paragraph describing the picture as accurately and as fully as you can. RE-paint the picture with words, as if for a blind person. Do *not* try to interpret or explain why Magritte painted the picture or what the picture really means. Just describe it so that your words and sentences produce the same image and effect as Magritte produced.

Exchange paragraphs with your partner. Examine the paragraphs with the following questions:

How did you organize your description?
What did you mention first? last? Why did you choose to do it that way?
Does the picture have any focus, any main idea? Where in your paragraph did you mention that focus?
Try moving sentences around within the paragraph. How does that change the effect on the reader?
What sentence positions in a paragraph have the most impact on the reader?
How many sentences did you write?

Back-up tasks:

controlled compositions
sentence exercises: completion, transformation, etc.
cloze-type passage: a student's Magritte composition, with articles, prepositions, etc. deleted
Controlled composition: a student's composition to re-write; imagine there are two of everything: glasses, knives, etc.
description of an arrangement of pencils, Cuisenaire rods, or sugar and raisins (uncountable and countable)

Follow-up tasks:

description of another picture or of a photograph taken by a student; students can work in pairs or groups
description of student's room or of a diagram drawn by another student of *his* own room
description of a still-life arrangement, a *Tinkertoy* construction, an architectural plan, a landscape, a view through a telescope, a view through a microscope.

Conclusion

The teacher's task is one of selection and prediction. Within the context of the carefully chosen tasks, the student writes freely, with no more constraint than if he had been asked to write on "An Interesting Experience." Any topic, even one he choose himself, limits his options. I propose that the choice of composition topics is a major task for the teacher, a means of establishing the environment for learning and practicing specific features of the rhetorical and syntactic structure of composition.

References

Arapoff, Nancy. 1967. Writing: a thinking process. *TESOL Quarterly, 1,* 2, 33-39.
————. 1969. Discover and transform: a method of teaching writing to foreign students. *TESOL Quarterly, 3,* 4, 297-304.

———. 1970. *Writing through understanding.* New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Bander, Robert G. 1971. *American English rhetoric: writing from spoken models for bilingual students.* New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Baskoff, Flornce. 1971. *Guided composition.* American English: an integrated series for international students. Philadelphia, Center for Curriculum Development.

Bracy, Maryruth. 1971. Controlled writing vs. free composition. *TESOL Quarterly, 5*, 3, 239–246.

Braddock, Richard *et al.* 1963. *Research in Written Composition.* Champaign, Ill., NCTE.

Brière, Eugene J. 1966. Quantity before quality in second language composition. *Language Learning, 16*, 141–151.

Buckingham, Thomas and William C. Pech. 1976. An experience approach to teaching composition. *TESOL Quarterly, 10*, 1, 55–65.

Cave, George N. 1972. From controlled to free composition. *English Language Teaching, 26*, 262–269.

Dressel, Paul *et al.* 1952. The effects of writing frequency upon essay-type writing proficiency at the college level. *Journal of Educational Research, 46*, 285–293.

Dykstra, Gerald. 1964. Eliciting language practice in writing. *English Language Teaching, 19*, 23–26.

——— and Christina Bratt Paulston. 1967. Guided composition. *English Langguage Teaching, 21*, 135–141.

Erazmus, Edward. 1960. Second language composition teaching at the intermediate level. *Language Learning, 10*, 25–31.

Friend, Jewell A. 1971. *Writing English as a second language.* Glenview, Ill., Scott, Foresman and Co.

Green, J.F. 1967. Preparing an advanced composition course. *English Language Teaching, 21*, 141–150.

Horn, Vivian. 1969. Teaching logical relationships in written discourse. *TESOL Quarterly, 3*, 4, 291–296.

Hunt, Kellogg W. 1970. Do sentences in the second language grow like those in the first? *TESOL Quarterly, 4*, 195–202.

Hunting, Robert. 1967. Recent studies of writing frequency. *Research in the Teaching of English, 1*, 29–40.

Kaplan, Robert B. 1966. Cultural thought patterns in intercultural education. *Language Learning, 16*, 1–20.

———. 1967. Contrastive rhetoric and the teaching of composition. *TESOL Quarterly, 1*, 3, 10–16.

———. 1971. Composition at the advanced ESL level: a teacher's guide to connected paragraph construction for advanced-level foreign students. *English Record, 21*, 53–64.

Kunz, Linda Ann. 1972. *26 steps.* New York, Language Innovations Inc.

——— and Robert Viscount. 1973. *Write me a ream.* New York, Columbia University Teachers College Press.

Lawrence, Mary. 1972. *Writing as a thinking process.* Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press.

———. 1975. *Reading, thinking, writing.* Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press.

Mellon, John C. 1969. *Transformational sentence-combining: a method for enhancing the development of syntactic fluency in English composition.* Champaign, Ill., NCTE.

Moody, K.W. 1965. Controlled composition frames. *English Language Journal, 19*, 146–155.

Nichols, Ann E. 1965. *English syntax: advanced composition for non-native speakers.* New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

O'Hare, Frank. 1973. *Sentence combining: improving student writing without formal grammar instruction.* Urbana, Ill., NCTE.

Paulston, Christina Bratt. 1972. Teaching writing in the ESOL classroom: techniques of controlled composition. *TESOL Quarterly, 6,* 1, 33–59.

——— and Gerald Dykstra. 1973. *Controlled composition in English as a second language.* New York, Regents Publishing Co.

——— and Mary Newton Bruder. 1976. *Teaching English as a second language: techniques and procedures.* Cambridge, Mass., Winthrop Publishers Inc.

Pincas, Anita. 1962. Structural linguistics and systematic composition teaching to students of English as a foreign language. *Language Learning, 12,* 185–195.

———. 1964. Teaching different styles of written English. *English Language Teaching, 18,* 74–81.

———. 1970. Writing in paragraphs. *English Language Teaching,* 24, 182–185.

Robinson, Lois. 1967, 1975, 2nd. ed. *Guided writing and free writing.* New York, Harper and Row.

Rojas, Pauline. 1968. Writing to learn. *TESOL Quarterly 2,* 2, 127–129.

Ross, Janet. 1968. Controlled writing: a transformational approach. *TESOL Quarterly, 2,* 4, 253–261.

——— and Gladys Doty. 1965, 1975, 2nd. ed. *Writing English: a composition text in English as a foreign language.* New York, Harper and Row.

Rutherford, William E. 1974. Pragmatic syntax in the classroom. *TESOL Quarterly, 8,* 2, 177–184.

Samelson, William. 1976. *English as a second language phase three: let's write.* Reston, Virginia, Reston Publishing Co.

Spencer, D.H. 1965. Two types of guided composition. *English Language Teaching, 19,* 156–158.

Willcott, Paul. 1974. *Advanced EFL and traditional goals of freshman composition.* Paper presented at annual TESOL Convention, Denver, Colorado, ERIC Document Reproductive Service, ED 094 427.

Winterowd, W. Ross. 1968. *Rhetoric: a synthesis.* New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Zamel, Vivian. 1976. Teaching composition in the ESL classroom: what we can learn from research in the teaching of English. *TESOL Quarterly, 10,* 1, 67–76.

Who's He When He's at Home? or What Does *What Does It Mean?* Mean?

ROBERT RAINSBURY

The teaching of the lexicon seems, at first glance, to be the easiest part of the foreign language teacher's work. So much so, that we seem to spend little time talking about how to accomplish the task. We tell prospective teachers that they must divest themselves and divest their students of the notion that learning a language means merely learning words. And that word *merely* betrays an attitude, a belief that learning new words is not all that difficult.

Looked at one way, the way our students often look at it, it is not. Almost everyone who wants to learn a language learns to say hello and count to ten immediately. In fact, the student may know how before his first lesson. *Manzana* becomes *apple* in lesson one. So, the student comes to believe that everything is as simple as *apple-manzana*. Every word in the target language has an exact equivalent in the native language.

This attitude is shared by hack translators. The Brazilian poet writes *saudade* and the indifferent translator writes *sadness*. A certain part of the meaning, the broadest part, has been properly represented, but the narrow meaning, the nuance that distinguishes the word from other words meaning sadness, has been lost. Words in the hands of such journeymen are like overcooked vegetables. One recognizes their general outlines, but the taste is missing. That is why translation is an art and not a skill.

All this is known. We sense, when we read a bad translation, that something is missing. What we do not always realize is that even when we do not use translation in our classroom, we may be making the same error. We may be doing the student an equal disservice and draining the language of its color and strength. Even when we teach entirely in English, we may still be feeding our students watery brussels sprouts if we do not watch what we are about. This is especially so when we rely, as we so often do, on the use of synonyms. Yet we use them to explain, we build drills around them and we allow our students to use dictionaries that feed them synonyms. And what do we accomplish? Let me take you for a moment into my classroom of intermediate level students. I am calling for definitions, and getting, as usual, synonyms.

This selection is based on teaching done in a presentation at the 1976 TESOL Convention. Robert Rainsbury teaches in the American Language Institute at New York University, New York, New York 10003.

Teacher: What does *contest* mean?
Student 1: *Answer*
Student 2: *Race*

Student 1 is, of course, a Spanish speaker making an educated guess. He is being led astray by one of that class of cognates we call "false friends." *Contestar* in Spanish does mean *to answer.* Student 2 is closer, but let us, for the moment, defer discussion of his response. And let's try another word.

Teacher: What is *armor?*
Student 1: *Tin*
Student 2: *Material*

With these two answers, as with the second answer to the question about *contest*, one sees a kind of broad approximation, however inexact. The students are firing in the general direction of the target, sometimes hitting it, but missing the bulls-eye maddeningly. Let's continue with more words.

Teacher: What is *success?*
Student: *To win*

This is the closest yet, except that a noun has been defined with a verb and the student should be made aware of this. One more.

Teacher: What is *team?*
Student: *League.*

This would seem, at first, to be as close as the last example. The student must have some idea of the meaning of *team*, otherwise how could he associate it with *league?* Unfortunately, this may not be so. The student may be doing nothing more than using his dictionary to amass synonyms to be traded, to be spent like coins in the classroom. This is what I call the synonym game. The student has two synonyms, but there is nothing on earth, animate or inanimate, to which he can relate either word. The student considers this learning. It is not. It is, like much of what passes for learning, data gathering.

Why do the students' shots fall wide of the target, or strike only in the outer fringes? Why do students find it necessary or even desirable to play the synonym game? I believe the answer lies in the different ways student and teacher perceive that deceptively simple question *What does* __________ *mean?*

When the student asks the question, he is usually saying "Tell me what the equivalent of this word or phrase is in my language. If you can't or won't do this, at least give me a clue so *I* can translate it." When the student hears the question, however, he hears it as "Give me a synonym," since that is what we so often ask him to do. When the teacher asks or hears the question, he understands it (or I hope he does) in a richer and more complex way. The student may think it enough to learn from his dictionary that *jump* "means" *leap*, but the teacher wants him to acquire another kind of understanding.

When we, as native speakers, hear the word *jump*, it calls to mind a host of associations. We feel our feet leave the ground, we see the deer spring into the air, we see the outfielder go high to catch the ball. Unless the student is somewhere in that chain of associations, it cannot be said that he knows, in any true sense, what the word *jump* means. And the student cannot begin to be a genuine language learner until we awaken him to that fact.

The Joyceans among you will have recognized the source of my title. *Who's he when he's at home?* is, of course, Molly Bloom's celebrated question upon first encountering the word *metemosycosis.* For years I thought of Molly's question as I thought of Molly herself—earthy, blunt and humorous. Beyond that, I did not give the question much thought. Recently, however, I found myself thinking about Molly's question again, and taking it more seriously.

This came about when I read certain passages in Philip Kapleau's *The Three Pillars of Zen* (1967:189–268). One section of that book is devoted to accounts by initiates in Zen Buddhism of how they acquired their first understanding or, as it is often called, enlightenment. Such novices are given a kind of riddle which they must, through meditation, solve. One such riddle concerns a famous Zen master who was asked the question "Does a dog have Buddha nature?" and answered with the single word "*Mu.*" The novice is told to discover the meaning of this *mu.* Eventually the novices report to their teacher with what they think is the solution. But, according to these accounts, their teacher does not merely ask them to define *mu.* He certainly does not ask for a synonym. Instead he asks a series of questions such as "How old is *mu*?," "Give me *mu*," "Show me *mu* in the bath," "Show me *mu* on a mountain," "Show me *mu* at a railroad station." Who, in short, is *mu* when he's at home? A student who can satisfy this kind of questioning cannot only define the word, he has entered the world of the word. *Mu* is not something in a book, not a dead syllable on a printed page. It is something the student can feel—something he possesses and is possessed by.

By now, surely, everyone knows the thrilling story of how Anne Sullivan broke through Helen Keller's isolation by holding her hand under a stream of water while she signed the word *water* into the palm of the other hand. As a teacher, and especially as a language teacher, I find this not only a beautiful story, but also a powerful symbol of what language teaching can be. There is Helen Keller with the word in one hand and the world in the other. The two meet within her and, as with the Zen initiates, the experience is ecstatic.

We cannot ordinarily bring our students to such a pitch of excitement, nor, probably, should we expect to, but we can and should do everything in our power to bring language off the printed page and out of the dictionary so that our students may possess words and not merely have knowledge of them. How can we do that? Let me take you into my classroom again so I may show you what *this* teacher is trying to do.

This is a class of intermediate level students of varied linguistic and educational backgrounds who are enrolled in a semester-long intensive course in a major American city. They have not yet begun any university study in this country and some of them do not plan to. Some of these students live in dormitories on the university grounds, some in apartments or rooms, and some are boarding with American families or relatives. This latter fact can be important, as we will see shortly. We are reading together, my students and I. What we are reading may be a selection taken from an ESL textbook. It may also be a short story or novel that has not been edited for ESL students. It may be a newspaper story. In the latter case, I have chosen it with two questions in mind—is the selection of general interest to the students, and will it provide them with a challenge without being overly difficult for students at their level? If the answer to both questions is yes, I have decided that the selection is usable.

I begin by reading aloud as the students follow. When I come to a word I think they may not know, I stop and call for a definition of that word. I have several reasons for doing this. First, of course, I want the students to do the work. Second, if someone in the class does know the word, he may have a better definition than I have. In my classroom, not all the teaching proceeds from the designated teacher, nor, I can assure you, is all the learning done by the designated learners. Third, such a technique exposes the problems. For it is now that the synonym game players begin their work. The teacher says "What is *vibrate?*" and the synonym game player says proudly "Tremble." What I do then is to ask that student to define *tremble*, and if he answers with another synonym, I ask him to define *that*. It does not take the student long to realize that I am calling for a different kind of definition than he is giving me. I am forcing him to show knowledge of an idea, not knowledge of words. When the real definitions begin to emerge, I begin my inquisition. "What would cause the objects in this room to vibrate? How would we know that they were vibrating? Would we hear something? See something? What? Can you make your pencil vibrate? Show me." And so forth. Sometime during all this the word *vibrate* has been unobtrusively written on the blackboard, as all the words studied during the hour will be, so we may return to them again toward the end of the class period. We may pass from this to the way the word is used in this particular context, to what the writer accomplishes by using that particular word in that particular place. This is not aesthetics, this is language learning. It is learning about the manifold uses to which words can be put. Students can grasp this. They can understand, for example, about the ironic or humorous use of a word. They can easily grasp the idea of euphemisms, surrounded as they are by senior citizens, rest rooms and ethnic groups. With help from the teacher, they can learn different words for the same concept and why one is chosen over another—the difference between, for example, *thin*, *slender* and *skinny*. And they must be instructed in such matters. Pejorative meanings, particularly, are often not sensed by non-native speakers of a language. I once knew a bilingual lady who tutored a company employee in Spanish, and sent a glowing report back to his company saying that he had made "notorious progress."

At least once during the hour I try to devote some time to close study of one word and its context, to do what I have been describing but at greater length. I think of this as the equivalent of the close reading we all do with sentences and paragraphs. I can perhaps illustrate this best by giving an example. In one story we read, the author described the hero's eyes as "warm and fierce." At this point, I called for a definition of *fierce*. When I had satisfied myself that the students had genuinely acquired the meaning of *fierce*, (my questions included "What kind of animal is fierce? What do we mean when we say that the wind is fierce?"), I turned back to the story and asked how it was possible for anything to be both fierce and warm. Nobody could answer the question, so I probed more deeply. I imitated a stern but not unkind teacher, and I wrote on the backboard the expression *his bark is worse than his bite*. Gradually a widened concept of the word *fierce* began to emerge. On a recent occasion, the word *ornament* cropped up in the reading. When I asked for a definition, the students resorted to their second favorite strategy, that of giving examples—rings, necklaces, pictures on the wall. But this, I insisted, did not tell me what an ornament was. Pointing to objects in the classroom, I asked if any of them were ornaments. When the students told me that the blackboard was not an ornament, I asked why it was not. Because, they told me, it served a useful purpose. I told them that they had *now* given me a definition. In this instance, my probing indicated that the students already knew the meaning of the word. But I could not be sure of this until I had gotten down to that level.

I do not ban dictionaries, but I discourage their use and try to persuade the student that, in class at least, he can do better without one. Bilingual dictionaries are the places where the players of the synonym games get their ammunition. Dictionaries with definitions in the target language are often written with such exquisite care that it takes one who already knows the meaning of the word to understand the definition.

On one recent occasion, a dispute over the use of a dictionary led to understanding. The student wished to know the meaning of the adjective *patient*, and argued vociferously that he needed to use his dictionary. At the height of the discussion, I raised my hand and said gently "Be *patient*, Peter," and I saw the light go on in his eyes.

And always, always, I look for the common, the everyday, the vulgar (in the true sense of that word) to help me explain. Is there a current popular song or slogan on TV or on subway posters that will help me to show a meaning? And it is here that the student's current environment may be of vital importance. A shy Japanese student living alone in a dormitory room may be, except for the time in class, still in Japan. But an outgoing student living with an American family where there are people his age, may be learning as much or more at home than he is in class. And there are many degrees in between. It is part of my job to study this environment and use it as best I can.

Is there a place for written work in all this? I think there is. But let it not be those sterile games of synonym matching or affixing so dear to linguists and lexicographers, so deadly to every one else. We can, for one example, build exercises around the euphemism/dysphemism distinction mentioned above. Let the student choose the correct word from sentences such as these:

1. That (slender, skinny) dog looks as if he hasn't eaten for a week.
2. The (slender, skinny) dancer moved gracefully across the stage.

The exercise in the appendix shows another form of written exercise I have begun experimenting with. This represents only the first tentative step and is certainly subject to change. I welcome suggestions. Here we proceed from an established technique—a word form chart and illustrative sentences—to questions which are designed to challenge easy and overly broad definitions, and help the student to expand those definitions. The written exercise at the end calls upon the student to demonstrate genuine knowledge of a concept, to tell what the word is when it's at home.

The letter killeth, says an ancient text, but the spirit giveth life. Our students usually come to us after receiving doses, often massive ones, of the letter—of the language taught as a set of rules, as a thing on paper, as a historical object, like something in a museum. It is our job to show these students that they are not dealing with a corpse, but with a thing that bursts with life, that laughs and cries and screams, that is sweet or acrid on the tongue. The lexicon gives us our most powerful entry into that life, but only if we allow that life to come through, only if we let that laughter and that joy and, yes, that pain too, into our classrooms and into the work that we do there.

Reference

Kapleau, Philip. 1967. *The three pillars of Zen.* Boston, Beacon Press.

APPENDIX

NOUN	VERB	ADJECTIVE	ADVERB
Clarity	Clear	clear	clearly
Clarification	Clarify		

The sky is *clear.*
The water is *clear.*
The explanation is *clear.*
Clear the room.
Clear off the table.
Questions: What is *clear* glass?
What is *clarified* butter?
What do you do when you *clear* a calculator?
when you *clear* the room?
when you *clear* your mind?
Does clear mean colorless?
Can we speak of a *clear* blue sky? In that case, what is *clear* about the sky?

Assignment: Describe something that is *clear* and tell what qualities make it clear. (suggestions: a window pane, a good explanation)

Reading in ESL

PAT RIGG

For two years, 1973-75, I worked on a research project which studied the reading of four groups of ESL speakers—Arabic, Navajo, Samoan, and Spanish. The project was carried out at Reading Miscue Research, Wayne State University, under the direction of Kenneth S. Goodman. Ten students in second, fourth, and sixth grades in each language group orally read and discussed two stories each. Tape-recordings of their reading and discussion were analyzed using miscue analysis. Dr. Goodman's report of this research, to be published by the USOE, will present the research findings of this study in detail. Here I want to use one of the subjects from that study as a example of an ESL student's reading proficiency, and I want to suggest general guidelines for increasing reading proficiency of other ESL students.

Leila Berry was twelve years old when I interviewed her. She had come to the USA eighteen months previously from Lebanon, and now was in the sixth grade in a regular class. She was receiving no special help in ESL. Like the other subjects in the study, Leila was interviewed on two different days: each day she was asked to read an entire story without any help, and afterwards to tell the story as best she could. Here is a copy of the first page of one story Leila read, with all her deviations from the text, her miscues, marked. The marking system underlines any item which is repeated; marks C any miscue which is corrected; marks non-words with a dollar sign—$; marks running starts with RS; marks unsuccessful attempts to correct with UC and uses AC to mark abandoning of the correct form.

$mightly Tigers $frankins $ancins
West of the mighty river Tigris, in the fragrant garden which was ancient
$persea $wealfully
Persia, dwelled a wealthy farmer and his family. The youngest daughter of
AC Freedah
the household was called Fareedah.

Freedah's
"Look after the sheep, daughter," said Fareedah's mother on day.
Freedah $suffled fix RS
Fareedah shuffled along behind the flock, fixed her gaze on the far
$=horizons C $alloed
horizon, and allowed the sheep to wander dangerously close to the edge
the step
of a steep cliff.

let
"Stop," cried her mother, running to lead the sheep to safer ground.

This selection is based on teaching done in a workshop at the 1976 TESOL Convention. Pat Rigg teaches at the State University of New York, Albany, New York 12222.

can't
"I cannot trust you to do the job well so I shall do it myself."
3. (C)
2. Th-
(UC) 2. **$deserred**
1. The n- **$=result** 1. **de-**
That was exactly the result which Fareedah had desired and she went
$cungly
to lie in the shade of a fig tree. In fact the lazy girl had cunningly avoided all work for many years.

(UC) 3. **$discorage**
Freedah's 1. **dis-** 2. **disco-**
But Fareedah's mother was not easily discouraged.

(Larson 1966:46)

Leila read the rest of the story with about the same number and kind of miscues. Some of her miscues are obviously due to her being an ESL speaker: "fix her gaze, shade of fig tree." "$Mightly" and "wealfully" suggest possible confusion over the adjectival *-y* and the adverbial *-ly*. But these are only four of the 25 miscues made on the first page. Given Leila's reading of this first page, few teachers would allow her to continue reading, and surely would not expect her to complete the fifteen-page story. Most would conclude that the story was much too hard for her, and she obviously couldn't understand any of it. Leila did finish the story, however, and when she had finished, she was able to relate everything she could remember about it. Here is the portion referring to page one, with only repetitions like "she, she" and "uh" altered:

> Freedah was a lazy girl. One day her mother told her—No, she doesn't like to do anything, and when her mother told, tell her to do things, she'll make excuse, you know, that she won't do it. And then she told her one day, she told her to take the sheep and stay beside them to see, to let the sheep feed, you know, and she told her, "Don't let him go to danger places." And she took him into a danger place beside the hill, and her mother saw her. And she did that on purpose. Then her mother took over the sheep, and she went and laid down under the tree, fig tree.

Clearly, Leila did understand what she was reading. Her unprompted recall of all the events and characters in the story was as impressive as this excerpt. A closer look at Leila's miscues can indicate how she was able to get so much from the admittedly difficult story. Like other readers, Leila uses information from the grapho-phonic, syntactic, and semantic sub-systems of the language to get meaning from print. Her use of graphic information is demonstrated by the very similar spellings of what she said and what was printed: mightly/mighty, Tigers/Tigris, wealfully/wealthy, suffled/shuffled, step/steep, Freedah/Fareedah, and so on. This indicates that one of Leila's strengths as a reader is her control over the English grapho-phonic system, and her ability to use grapho-phonic information. Leila does not need lessons in letter-sound relationships. Another strength Leila has is her ability to use syntactic information. These examples, like "Jabberwocky" are sometimes meaningless, but are all grammatical English:

Freedah $suffled
Fareedah shuffled along behind the flock.
the step
. . . the edge of a steep cliff.
$cungly
. . . the lazy girl had cunningly avoided
Freedah the couch
Fareedah . . . went to ∧ lounge beneath the tree.
Freedah $crosly
"Yes, Mother," said Fareedah crossly.

The third type of information Leila uses is semantic. All of the following miscues make sense, as do many of the miscues she makes throughout the story:

the
"Never mind," sighed her mother.
want
I long to wander the hillside. . . .
answered
. . . the camel assured her.
squiggled Freedah
"Oh," squealed Fareedah.
Freedah this
"Yes," agreed Fareedah, "that is right."
and filled
Fareedah returned to the well to fill the jar.
on
. . . apple which had fallen to the ground.
father
I believe my mother liked the carpet.
decide
But we can discuss that matter at length . . .
arrangement
You are not thinking of breaking our bargain. . .

Leila's miscues, then, show her strength as a reader in her use of grapho-phonic, syntactic, and semantic information. When Leila miscues, she substitutes words that are very similar in spelling to the text's words; her miscues produce sentences that sound like English; her miscues usually make sense. It is not just Leila's ability to get the three types of information, it is the way in which she uses that information, it is her information processing strategies that enable her to get so much meaning from what she reads. Three basic strategies—prediction, confirmation, and correction—help Leila to process the printed information quickly and meaningfully.

The strategy of prediction is necessary for any proficient reading. Reading is neither a process of sounding-out each letter, letter by letter, nor is it an automatic recognition of each word, word by word. Reading requires sampling graphic, grammatical, and semantic information; predicting on the basis of that information what the next chunk of meaning will be, with its own graphic, grammatical, and semantic features; testing that prediction against a further sampling; and, if the prediction is confirmed, continuing; if it is not, generating a different prediction which then is tested, and so on. For example, given this half-line of text, what will come next? "Fareedah's mother considered how - - - -." It could be "Fareedah's mother considered how to do this," or "how she would change the girl," or "how the girl could improve." All three are likely alternatives. An unlikely alternative is "how jumped. . . ." Leila's guess was "how the. . . ." But the rest of the sentence is "how she could . . ." so Leila regressed and said, "how she. . . ." The single letter difference between *the* and *she* shows the graphic information on which Leila based her guess; the prediction of an article, *the*, which begins the clause that must follow *how* in this sentence, shows that Leila is basing her guess on grammatical information as well as graphic. This willingness to guess and to correct when the guess doesn't fit the rest of the sentence are the surest marks of a good reader. Here are a few more examples of Leila's willingness to predict, on the basis of graphic, grammatical, and semantic cues, and of he rability to correct when necessary:

C have
We are having a pleasant conversation, you and I.

Ⓒ
the
As the camel had eaten the noon meal, so did he consume . . .

branch
Fareedah took up a brush and began to stroke him

waved
Fareedah wagged the fan back and forth.

Ⓒ
her
Fareedah stood for hours . . .

talk
Camels cannot speak.

Many of Leila's guesses are non-words, like *$wealfully* and *$mightly*. These usually are very similar in spelling to the text, and they very often fit grammatically, but they are nonsense. Many teachers tend to stop a student when s/he produces non-words, and they advise the student to look again, perhaps to sound it out. Students who follow such advice often become quite word-bound; they develop what Frank Smith has called "tunnel vision," an inability to get meaning from the whole because of intensive concentration on the tiny parts (Smith, 1975). The little boy who read the line below, for example, spends enormous energy trying to get all the letters right:

	6		don't		
	5	Here	di-		
	4	Harry	did not	$hayve	Pete
	3	Here	did-	Harry	pets
	2	He-	do-	he-	pe-
Child:	1	H-	d-	ha-	p-
Text:		Henry	didn't	have a	pet.

The sentence the boy finally came up with is nonsense: "Here don't $hayve a Pete." (*$Hayve* rhymes with *save; a* rhymes with *say.*) Unlike this boy, Leila does not persevere in attempts at decoding; she predicts, frequently corrects when her prediction doesn't syntactically fit, and goes on reading. She knows that important words in the story will recur throughout the story, each time with slightly different contextual cues to help her get the meaning. The word *pavilion* occurred over 25 times in the story she read: Leila never pronounced it correctly, but towards the end of the story she substituted *room* for *pavilion*, and in her telling of the story, she said, "Freedah was in a—, I don't know the name, but it's like a tent." The little boy concentrates on getting the letters right and produces gibberish; he can't read on until he thinks he's got it right. Leila concentrates on getting meaning; she is willing to live with the uncertainty of the meaning and pronunciation of items like *pavilion*, trusting the text to give her more information about them later.

I think we all would prefer our students to read like Leila rather than like the persevering little boy. There are two general guidelines for helping our students get meaning rather than gibberish from what they read. These are let them read, and let them talk about what they read. Both must use the students' own interest and their English, however unproficient it is.

Letting our students read means, first, not interfering. It means not stopping them when they miscall words. It means not stopping the reading process at the end of every chapter or page to ask questions. Most of us have assumed that when students ask us for help or show obvious difficulty with a text, that it is our job to "help" them, and we have interpreted this "help" to mean that we read for the student. Actually, this is not helping the students; it is hindering the students from developing and enlarging the strategies that will increase their reading proficiency. To help the students, don't interrupt their reading. Uninterrupted sustained reading is the single most valuable technique I know of to make readers more proficient.

What about the student who is truly a beginning reader, one who can perhaps read his/her name, but not much else? How can this student read without interference? The language experience approach, in which students dictate their own stories and articles to the teacher, who acts as a scribe, offers the students easy, meaningful, beginning reading materials. Because both content and form come from the student, the student finds the material easy to read without outside help. Some good starters for language experience stories are wordless picture books, which tell a story through pictures. M. Mayer's *Frog* books from Dial Press get an enthusiastic reaction from all age groups, including adults. Folk tales are another means of eliciting reading material from the students themselves, as are open-ended stories. In order to give the students some familiarity with the styles of written English, which differ considerably from those of spoken English, the teacher can read stories aloud to the class. The story of Cinderella, for example, is worldwide: young students enjoy hearing the English version and dictating their own nation's version. For open-ended stories, the teacher can read two-thirds of a story aloud, and then ask the students to predict what will happen next. Their predictions serve as language experience reading matreial for the beginners. The language experience method can also be incorporated into dialog form, using puppets, cartoons, or pictures, and asking the students to dictate what's being said.

Whether they are reading selections authored by themselves or by others, the students need to be left alone to read. Before and after they read, the students can be encouraged to guess, rather than to struggle over the decoding of unfamiliar items. They should be encouraged to ask themselves as they read, "Does that make sense?" They should be encouraged to rethink any guess that doesn't make sense, and to go back and correct. Often students do not regress to correct a nonsensical miscue because they think regression is somehow cheating. They need to be encouraged to see regression for purposes of making sense as a strategy for increasing meaning not as a dishonest behavior. Because often students interpret any deviation from the text as an error, they need to learn that the only deviations which are "errors" are those that don't make sense. That is, when Leila sees "a camel cannot speak" and she says "a camel can't talk," then there is no error. Leila has read rightly, not wrongly, and she should go on reading, not waste time matching letters and sounds when she has already matched meaning. But all this encouragement and advice comes outside the reading itself. Unless the students have frequent opportunities to read for themselves and by themselves, they cannot develop the strategies that will enable them to make sense of what they read. One of the best ways we can help our students is by arranging our class space and time so that we let them read.

ESL students who are past the beginning stage of reading but are not yet as proficient at reading English as they want to be, need a variety of materials and a great deal of time in which to read them. Materials selected by the students from a wide choice are more likely to be interesting, and therefore more readable, than materials imposed on them. The students will inevitably come to phrases and vocabulary they do not understand; when this happens, the students should not interrupt their reading in order to consult a dictionary or teacher; rather, they should read on further to see if they can figure it out through context. They can read with a pencil in hand, underlining whatever gives them difficulty and, after they have completed reading the entire article or story, they can check those spots. Often after an entire story is read, the student erases most of the underlined items; what's left can be checked in a dictionary or with the teacher.

Our students can become better readers if, in addition to letting them read, we let them talk about what they read. Telling someone, whether the teacher or a classmate, about something just read requires the reader to organize and integrate what s/he has read with what is already known. Unfortunately, the sorts of questions usually found at the end of a chapter or a reading selection do not require much comprehension or integration. The usual questions ask for surface details only, and answering them correctly may not indicate that any meaning has been derived from the reading. I call such questions Marlup-type questions, from K.S. Goodman's "The marlup was poving his kump." What was the marlup poving? Who was poving his kump? What was the marlup doing? Answering these 100 percent correctly still doesn't indicate whether the marlup is bigger than a bread box. Rather than asking Marlup-type questions, it is better to ask general questions like these: tell me about the story (or article): what did you like; what did you disagree with; what was the author trying to say? Such questions focus the reader's attention on comprehending, on getting meaning from print. Such questions also allow for individual interpretations; they let our students know that their interpretations, based on their backgrounds and knowledge, are as valid as ours.

I mentioned earlier letting the students use their English, however unproficient it is, in their reading and in discussions of their reading. I want to repeat this because often teachers confuse reading lessons with oral lessons, and I believe that that confuses the students, directing their attention away from meaning and towards preciseness of pronunciation or correctness of grammatical strutures. Leila, for example, does not usually distinguish /p/ from /b/, so that when she orally reads "played" she is likely to say /bleyd/. Like most ESL speakers, she says /də/ for "the," /dɪs/ for "this," and so on. To stop Leila's reading in order to give her a quick pronunciation lesson on p/b or ð/d would be a great mistake, since it would interfere with her reading. Similarly, Leila's miscues like "fix/fixed, fig tree/a fig tree" may indicate the need for grammar lessons on past tense indicators and article usage, but the grammar lessons should occur before or after the reading, not during it. When we are teaching beginning readers of English by using the language experience approach, we should write what the students say, not our own grammatically correct version of what they say. If a student dictates, "I go to my friend house yesterday," then that's what we should write, not "I went to my friend's house yesterday."

Let them read without interruption; let them talk about what they read; let them use their interests and their English in selecting, reading, and discussing materials. These general practices can assist the ESL student in becoming a better reader of English. We should focus our attention and the students' on making sense of what they read, rather than on exact reproduction of the text. And when our students in oral reading deviate from the text, we should evaluate their miscues on the basis of quality, not quantity. When Leila says, "a camel can't talk," she makes a high-quality miscue because she makes sense. And isn't making sense what reading is all about?

References

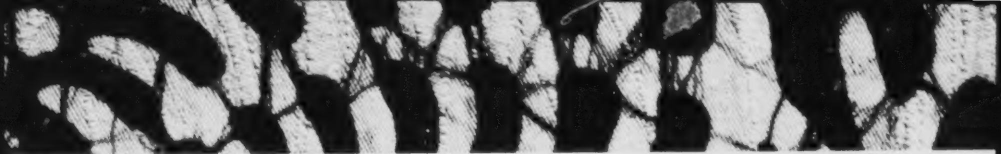
Goodman, K.S. 1973. *Theoretically Based Studies of Patterns of Miscues in Oral Reading Performance.* Washington, D.C. USOE Project 9-0375.

Larson, J.R. 1966. *Palace in Bagdad: Seven Tales from Arabia.* New York, Scribner's p.46.

Mayer, M. 1975. *One Frog Too Many.* New York, Dial Press.

Scott-Foresman. 1971. *Henry's Choice,* level 4–8, p.1.

Smith, F. 1975. *Comprehension and Learning.* New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston.



Making Sense of Language Learning

FRANK SMITH

A curious feature of large conventions is a tendency for invited speakers from other fields to begin their address by admitting "I know nothing about your special area of concern . . ." and then to spend the following hour demonstrating this handicap. I must begin by admitting I know nothing about teaching English to speakers of other languages, and to avoid a lengthy proof I propose not to talk about second language instruction at all. Instead I want to make some general observations about the minds of children and the way they learn various aspects of their mother tongue, leaving you to draw any conclusions that may seem relevant with respect to second language learning. I do not even intend to say very much about teaching, except to make some reference to its limitations. Instead I shall talk about comprehension, which I believe is the basis of all learning.

I think we often get comprehension and learning backwards in education. We expect children to learn in order to comprehend. I prefer to say that children must comprehend in order to learn. In fact if teachers make situations and problems comprehensible to children, then learning will take care of itself. Children are always ready and able to learn, provided they can make sense of the situation they are in. They are frustrated if there is nothing to learn. And children must be trusted to learn, because almost everything of importance that we know about the world, including language, cannot be taught. For example—as I have argued in detail elsewhere (Smith 1971, 1973, 1975)—reading can only be learned by reading. I cannot elaborate on all my reasons for these assertions this morning, but I shall try to give some illustrations while I am discussing the nature of the human mind. Because it is what we have in our minds—in our brains—in the first place that determines how we comprehend and learn anything about the world.

The critical factor in all comprehension and all learning is what we know already. Anythign that we cannot relate to our present knowledge is nonsense to us; we are bewildered. All the complexity and structure we see in the world around us must reflect a complexity and structure in our own minds. We are not usually aware of the comprehensively integrated system of knowledge that we carry around in our heads for the simple reason that usually it works very

---

This selection is based on teaching done in a plenary session at the 1976 TESOL Convention. Frank Smith teaches in the Curriculum Department, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5S 1V6.

well. We become conscious of it only through its limitations, when we find ourselves in a situation that does not make sense to us, and we are bewildered. When was the last time you were bewildered?

But then, when did you last see a bewildered baby? Even the smallest children seem able most of the time to make sense of their world in their own terms; they rarely appear confused or uncertain. The first time many children run into a situation that they cannot possibly relate to anything they know already, when they are consistently bewildered because they are confronted with nonsense, is when they arrive at school. We often deny children credit for knowing very much. But in fact most of our knowledge of the world—of the kind of objects it contains and the way they can be related—and most of our knowledge of our first language is in our heads before we arrive at school. After five or six we are mainly filling in the details.

Prediction—the basis of comprehension

This knowledge we have of the world in which we feel so familiar is not employed passively. We do not wait for something to occur before we make sense of it. Instead we go through our lives in a constant state of anticipation, making complex predictions about what is likely to come about. Indeed, our lives would be impossible, we would be afraid even to leave our beds in the morning, if we had no expectations about what the day might bring. We predict all the time—but once again we are generally unaware of this because we function so efficiently. So much so that when our predictions fail we are surprised. When was the last time you were surprised?

We drive through a town we have never visited before, yet nothing we see surprises us. There is nothing surprising about the buses and cars and pedestrians in the main street; they were predictable. But we do not predict that we might see anything—we would be surprised to see camels or submarines in the main street. Not that there is anything very surprising or unpredictable about camels or submarines in themselves—we would not be surprised to see camels if we were visiting a zoo or to see submarines in a naval base. In other words, our predictions are very specific to situations. We do not predict that *anything* will happen, nor do we predict that something is *bound* to happen if it is only *likely* to happen (we are no more surprised by the absence of a bus than we are by the presence of one), and we predict that many things are unlikely to happen. Our predictions must be remarkably accurate because we are so rarely surprised.

But then, when was the last time you saw a baby who was surprised? It is not easy to surprise a baby. (I do not mean to startle a baby, with a physical shock, but to present an infant with a situation that is unexpected, unpredicted). It is possible to surprise infants, but sometimes it takes a little ingenuity. Wave a rough papier maché mask of a human face—just a schematic nose with an eye on either side and a mouth beneath—in front of four-week old babies and they will not give it a second look: "Ho hum, we have seen things like that before." At four weeks of age infants are not surprised by the appearance of a human face. But show the same infants the same papier maché face but with both eyes on the same side of the nose, and this time the infants will be surprised. They will stop sucking at their bottles, their pupils will dilate, their pulse and breathing rates will accelerate. This is something they did not predict. Their response is not unlike that of adults the first time they meet a Picasso painting.

The need for prediction

Why should we predict? Why should we not expect anything all the time, and thus free ourselves from any possibility of surprise? I can think of three reasons. The first reason is that our position in the world in which we live changes constantly, and we are usually far more concerned with what is likely to happen in the near and distant future than we are with what is actually happening right now. An important difference between a skilled driver and a learner is that the skilled driver is able to project the car into the future while the learner's mind is more closely anchored to where the car is now—when it is usually too late to avoid accidents. The same difference tends to distinguish skilled readers from beginners, or from anyone having difficulty with a particular piece of reading. In fluent reading the eye is always ahead of the words the brain is actually working on, checking for possible obstacles to a particular understanding. (This phenomenon is most easily demonstrated if you suddenly put out the light while someone is reading aloud. He will continue reading a few words after he can no longer see, a clear indication that his eyes were ahead of his voice). Readers concerned with the word directly in front of their nose are the ones who are having trouble predicting—and they are the ones who will have trouble comprehending, and even seeing the print in front of their eyes. The same phenomenon applies to spoken language. If we are *listening* to every word a speaker utters, we become deaf to his meaning and paradoxically have less success in understanding individual words.

The second reason for prediction is that there is too much ambiguity in the world, too many ways of interpreting just about anything that confronts us. Unless we exclude some alternatives in advance we are likely to be overwhelmed with possibilities. The object that I see in front of me may be a chair, but if I am looking for somewhere to put my coat I do not want to be concerned with the the fact that a chair is for sitting on or that it generally has four legs. What I see is related to what I am looking for, not to all possible interpretations. Words have many meanings—*table* can have several meanings as a verb as well as several as a noun—but there is only one meaning that I am concerned with, that I predict, if someone tells me to put my books on the table. All the everyday words of our language have many meanings and often several grammatical functions—*table, chair, house, shoe, time, walk, open, narrow*—but by predicting the range of possibilities that a word is likely to be, we are just not aware of the potential ambiguities. This is the reason that word for word translation from one language to another is impossible. Before you can translate, the meaning of the entire context must be clear.

The final reason for prediction is that there would otherwise be far too many alternatives to choose among. The brain requires time to make its decisions about what the eyes are looking at, and the time that it requires depends on the number of alternatives. It takes much longer to decide that we are looking at the letter *A* when it could be any one of the twenty-six letters of the alphabet than when we know that it is a vowel or that it is either *A* or *B*. It takes much longer to identify a word in isolation compared with a word in a meaningful sentence. The situation is fundamentally no different from the matter of how long it takes to distinguish your car in a parking lot. No matter how well you know your car, the time required to find it depends on the number of other cars in the lot. The fewer the alternatives, the quicker the recognition. If there are too many alternatives confronting the eyes, then it is much harder to see what we want, or to comprehend.

Prediction is not reckless guessing, nor is it a matter of taking a chance by betting on the most likely outcome. We do not go through life saying "Round the next corner I shall see a bus" or "The next word I read will be *rhinoceros*." We predict by disregarding unlikely alternatives, and leave the brain to decide among those remaining alternatives until our uncertainty is reduced to zero. And we are so good at predicting only the most likely alternatives that we are rarely surprised.

Put more informally, prediction is a matter of asking specific questions. We do not ask "What is that object over there?" but "Can we put our books on it?" or whatever we want to do. We do not look at a page of print with no expectation about what we shall next read, instead we ask "What is the hero going to do; where is the villain going to hide: and will there be an explosion when liquid

A is mixed with power B." And provided the answer lies within the expected range of alternatives—which it usually does if we are reading with comprehension—then we are not aware of any doubt or ambiguity. We are neither bewildered nor surprised.

The relativity of comprehension

Now at last I can say what I mean by "comprehension." Prediction means asking questions—and comprehension means getting these questions answered. As we read, as we listen to a speaker, as we go through life, we are constantly asking questions, and as long as these questions are answered, and we have no uncertainty, then we comprehend. The person who does not comprehend how to repair a radio is the one who cannot answer his own question "Which of these wires goes where?" The person who does not comprehend a book or newspaper article is the one who cannot find the answers to his own questions concerning what the print is about. And the person who does not comprehend the speaker of an unfamiliar language is the one who cannot answer questions like "What is he trying to tell me?" or even "Why is he saying this?"

You may observe that such a definition of comprehension is quite different from the way in which the word is often used in school. So-called comprehension tests in school are usually given after a book has been read, and as consequence are more like tests of long-term memory. (And paradoxically, the effort to memorize can drastically interfere with comprehension, so that the test may finish up by destroying what it sets out to measure.) Comprehension is not a quantity, it is a state—a state of having no unanswered questions.

Because comprehension is an absence of uncertainty, there is only one person who can say whether an individual comprehends something or not, and that is the particular individual involved. If I say that I comprehended a certain book, it does not make sense to give me a test and argue that I did not understand it. And a score on a test certainly would not convince me that I had really understood a book or a speaker if my feeling is that I did not. Of course there are some obvious clues that will indicate whether a person is comprehending. If my eyes glaze over while you talk or my brow furrows deeply as I read, these are reasonable hints that all is not well with my comprehension. But the ultimate test must lie within the individual.

We ned not be afraid that anyone will willingly stay in a state of noncomprehension. Not being able to comprehend is aversive, it leaves its stigmata on our faces and our behaviour. Of course, children's understanding is not as complex as adults, but children have not been working on it for as long. Give them time. The knowledge that we develop is a reflection of the problems we have had to solve—or have chosen to solve—and may differ considerably between individuals, and especially between cultures. But the fact that a child may not be able to distinguish cats from dogs or *A* from *B*, does not mean that he will be confused or bewildered any more than I am confused or bewildered by my inability to distinguish an ash tree from an elm. These are just problems we have not yet got around to solving. Until you see a child who is constantly bewildered or surprised—and not just by what goes on in school, but by every aspect of his life in general—then you cannot say that the child does not know how to predict or to make sense of the world. Children know how to comprehend, and want to comprehend, provided they are in a situation that has the possibility of making sense to them from their point of view.

ACQUIRING KNOWLEDGE OF THE WORLD

Where has it come from, this fantastically complex yet precise and accurate knowledge of the world that we all have lodged in our brains? Obviously we were not born with it. The ability to acquire knowledge of the world and to predict from it may be innate, but the specific detail underlying the order and structure that we come to perceive in the world is not part of our birthright.

But equally obviously, very little of what we know can be attributed to instruction. Only a small part of what we know is actually *taught* to us. Teachers and other adults are given altogether too much credit for what we learn as children. But the debt we think we owe to formal instruction may be so deeply felt that a few illustrations may be required to show how exaggerated it is.

Consider for example what it is that we know that enables us to tell the difference between cats and dogs. What were we taught that has given us this skill? It is impossible to say. Just try to write a description of cats and dogs that would enable a being from outer space—or even a child who has never seen cats and dogs before—to tell the difference. Anything you might want to say about dogs—that they have long tails or pointed ears or furry coats—will apply to some cats and not to other dogs. The fact is that the difference between cats and dogs is *implicit* in our heads, knowledge that cannot be put into words. Nor can we communicate this knowledge by pointing to a particular part of cats and dogs saying "That is where the difference lies."

Differences obviously exist between cats and dogs, but you cannot find and do not need language to distinguish them. Children without language can tell the difference between cats and dogs. Cats and dogs can tell the difference between cats and dogs. But if we cannot say what this difference is, how can we teach it to children? What we do, of course, is point out to children examples of the two kinds of animal. We say "That is a cat" or "There goes a dog." But pointing out examples does not teach children anything, it merely confronts them with the problem. In effect we say "There is something I call a cat. Now you find out why." The "teacher" poses the problem and leaves the child to discover the solution.

The same argument applies to just about everything we can distinguish in the world—to all the letters of the alphabet, to numbers, chairs and tables, houses, clothing, foodstuffs, flowers, trees, utensils and toys, to every kind of animal, bird and fish, to every face, every car and plane and ship—thousands upon thousands of objects that we can recognize not only by sight but by other senses as well. And when did anyone tell us the rules? How often has anyone told us "Chairs can be recognized because they have four legs and a seat and possibly a back and arms"? (You can see how inadequate a description would be.) Instead, somebody once said "There is a chair" and left us to decide not only how to recognize chairs on other occasions but also to discover what exactly the world "chair" means; how chairs are related to everything else in the world.

With reading we do not even need someone to pose the problem in the first place. Reading at the same time presents both the problem and the possibility of its solution. Just by virtue of being a reader, every one of us has acquired a sight vocabulary of at least fifty thousand words. There are at least fifty thousand words that we can distinguish on sight, the way we recognize familiar faces and houses and trees. How did we acquire this enormous talent? Fifty thousand flashcards? Fifty thousand times a teacher wrote a word on a board and told us what it was? Fifty thousand times we blended together the sound of a word through phonics? We have learned to recognize words by reading.

Not only can we recognize fifty thousand words on sight—and also of course by sound—we can usually make sense of all of these words. Where have all the meanings come from? Fifty thousand trips to the dictionary? Fifty thousand lessons? We have learned language through using language, by speaking it, reading it, and making sense of it. What we know about language is largely implicit, just like our knowledge of cats and dogs. So little of our knowledge is actually taught, we underestimate how much of language we have learned.

Our language is full of rules that we were never taught. Let me illustrate just one. You would think it odd if I told you I had a small wooden blue sailing boat, or a blue wooden small sailing boat. There is only one way to say what I want to say—I have a small blue wooden sail boat—and just about every English speaker over the age of five would agree with me. There is a rule for how we do this—but it is not a rule that most of us can put into words. It is not a rule that we were taught.

I am not saying that there is nothing we are taught. We may be taught the rules of certain games just as we may be shown how to hold a fishing rod (although most of our skills come from practice rather than direct instruction). Certainly we are taught that two times two is four and that Paris is the capital of France. But everything we are taught must be related to what we already know, if it is to make sense. And most of our knowledge of the world, including most of our knowledge of our mother tongue, whether spoken or written, is not the kind of knowledge that can be put into words, it is more like the implicit cat and dog kind of knowledge. Knowledge which no-one can put into words is not knowledge that can be communicated by direct instruction.

How then—to repeat the original question—do we acquire and develop the knowledge of the world we have in our heads? How does it become so complex and precise and efficient? There seems to be only one answer: *by conducting experiments.*

Learning by experiment

Children learn through experimentation. Pointing (or showing a picture) and saying "That is a cat" merely confronts children with the problem, which must then be solved. And the manner in which the problem is solved is through the testing of hypotheses. Suppose that from the example given a child predicts—hypothesizes—that the rule for differentiating cats from dogs is that cats have pointed ears. The child can then test this hypothesis in experiments, by saying "There is a cat" or "What a nice cat' or "Hi cat" for any animal with pointed ears. Relevant feedback is any reaction that tells the child whether the hypothesis was justified or not. If someone says "Yes, there's a pretty cat" or even makes no overt response at all, simply accepting the child's statement, then the child knows that the hypothesis has worked, on this occasion at least. The child's beliefs can be tentatively modified to include the rule that cats are animals with pointed ears. But if the feedback is negative—if someone says to the child "No, that's a dog" or even something as rude as "Think again, stupid,"—then the child knows that the hypothesis has failed. Another hypothesis must be tested. Clearly more than one experiment will be required: it will take a lot of experiments with cats and dogs before a child can be reasonably certain of having uncovered the true differences between them (whatever the differences may be). But the principle is always the same: stay with what you believe for as long as it works; modify your beliefs, look for another hypothesis, whenever it fails.

It is essential for the child to understand what the problem is in the first place. A child will not learn to recognize cats simply by being shown cats; he will not know what to look for. Both cats and dogs must be seen in order for hypotheses about relevant differences to arise. We learn each letter of the alphabet by seeing them all, they are not learned one at a time. We must see what the alternatives are.

This process of hypothesis testing goes on continually, automatically, instinctively, below the level of awareness. If we were aware of the hypotheses we test, then indeed we could say what it is that enables us to tell the difference between cats and dogs. We are no more conscious of the hypotheses that underlie learning than we are of the predictions that underlie comprehension.

Language experiments

When does this process of experimentation take place? I think for young children there is only one answer: they are learning all the time. Children who have just begun to talk often seem to make statements that are completely obvious. A child stands looking out of a window with you and says something like "See big plane" although you may even have pointed the plane out to the child. Why then should the child bother to make the statement? The answer is because the child is learning, conducting an experiment. In fact a child could be conducting no fewer than three different experiments at the same time in that one simple situation.

In the first place the child could be testing the hypothesis that the object you can both clearly see in the sky *is* a plane—that it is not a bird or cloud or something else as yet unidentified. When you say "Yes I see it" you are confirming that the object is a plane: positive feedback. Even silence is interpreted as positive feedback, since the child would expect you to make a "correction" if the hypothesis were in error. The second hypothesis that the child might be testing concerns the sound of the language—that the name "plane" is the right name for the object, rather than "pwane", "prane" or anything else the child might say. Once again the child can assume that if you do not take the opportunity to correct then there is nothing to be corrected. A test has been successfully conducted.

But the third hypothesis that the child may be testing is the most interesting of all. The child may be conducting a linguistic experiment, testing whether "See big plane" is an acceptable sentence in adult language. The child is learning to produce sentences in adult language by using tentative sentences for which he already knows the meaning, *in a situation which both you and he comprehend.* He expects adults to comprehend and correct what he means to say so that he can learn if he has expressed the meaning adequately.

The same principle of making sense of language by understanding the situation in which it is used applies in the other direction as the child learns to *comprehend* adult speech. At the beginning of language learning infants must be able to understand what adults say before they can understand adult language. Does that statement sound paradoxical? What I mean is that children do not come to understand sentences like "Would you like a drink of juice?" or even the meaning of single words like "juice," by figuring out the language or by having someone tell them the rules. Children learn because initially they can hypothesize the meaning of a statement from the situation in which it is uttered—an adult is usually carrying or pointing to a drink of juice when a sentence like "Would you like a drink of juice?" is spoken. From such situations a child can hypothesize what might happen the next time someone mentions "juice." The situation provides the meaning and the utterance provides the evidence—that is all a child needs to construct hypotheses that can be tested on future occasions. Children do not learn language to make sense of words and sentences; they make sense of words and sentences to learn language.

Note here the intimate connection between comprehension and learning. Children must comprehend what they are doing all the time they are learning. Everything must make sense as they test their hypotheses. Anything that bewilders a child will be ignored; there is nothing to be learned there. It is not nonsense that stimulates children to learn but the possibility of making sense; that is why children grow up speaking language and not imitating the noise of the air conditioner. Children do not learn by being denied access to problems; a child learning to talk must be surrounded by spoken language, and it is far better to help a beginner to read than to deprive him of reading.

A beautiful thing about language that makes sense is that it usually provides a basis for both the hypothesis and the test. Language can provide its own feedback. We make predictions about what we are about to hear or read in order to comprehend, and we make hypotheses about what a particular word or statement is likely to mean in order to learn. Our predictions and hypotheses come from what we understand already; and our feedback, the information that tells us whether we were right or wrong, comes from what we go on to comprehend. If we have made a mistake we will probably find out about it—and that is the way we learn. The sense of what we hear and read not only supplies the basis for learning language, it tells us when we are wrong—provided of course, that it is not nonsense to us in the first place.

We do not realize how much is learned by being involved in language that we comprehend, not just about language itself but about the world in general, because the learning is usually so effortless, so fluent. First language learning takes place despite ourselves, and certainly despite much that goes on in school—just as infants learn about the difference between cats and dogs.

Learning all the time

Learning is a continual and effortless process, as natural as breathing. A child does not have to be especially motivated or rewarded for learning, in fact the thrust to learn is so natural that being deprived of the opportunity to learn is aversive. Children will struggle to get out of situations when there is nothing to learn, just as they will struggle to escape from situations where breathing is difficult. Inability to learn is suffocating.

Everyone is equipped with a very efficient device that prevents our wasting time in situation where there is nothing to learn. That device is called *boredom*, and boredom is something all children want to escape. A child who is bored in class is not demonstrating ill will or inability or even sheer cussedness; boredom should convey just one very clear message for the teacher, that there is nothing in the particular situation for the child to learn.

Unfortunately there are two reasons why there might be nothing for a child to learn in a particular situation, and hence two causes of boredom, although they arise from quite different sources. One reason why children might have nothing to learn is very simple—they know it already. Children will not attend to anything they know already, nature has equipped them not to waste their time in this way; they will be bored. But children will also suffer and exhibit the same symptoms of boredom not because they know something already, but because they cannot make sense of what they are expected to learn. Children cannot be made to attend to nonsense. It is a teacher's responsibility, not the pupil's, to make sure that what children are expected to learn has the possibility of making sense, not only in terms of what the children know already, but in terms of what they might want to know. Teachers might see quite clearly that a certain exercise will improve a child's useful knowledge or skills, but unless the child can see some sense in the exercise, the instruction is a waste of time. It is often the hardest thing for a child to comprehend how something looks from the teacher's point of view.

The risk and rewards of learning

There is one other reason why children might turn their faces against learning, and is its risk. In order to learn you must take a chance. When you test a hypothesis there must be a possibility of being wrong. If you are certain of being right, there can be nothing to learn because you know it already. And provided there is a possibility of being wrong, you learn whether you are right or not. If you have a hypothesis about what constitutes a cat, it makes no difference whether you say "cat" and are right or say "dog" and are wrong. In fact you often get the most useful information when you are wrong because you may be right for the wrong reason but when you are wrong you know you have made a mistake. Many children become reluctant to learn because they are afraid of making a mistake. Consider the relative credit children are given in and out of school for being "correct" and for being "wrong."

There should be no need for special inducements to motivate a child to learn. Children are motivated to learn whenever there is something they do not understand, provided they feel there is a chance that they can learn. Irrelevant inducements—bribing a child to attend—become necessary only when a child is confronted with nonsense, with something that does not make sense. And forcing a child to attend to nonsense is a pointless enterprise in any case. Bewilderment is aversive.

Nor does learning need to be rewarded. The final exquisite virtue of learning is that it provides its own reward. Learning is satisfying, as everyone knows. Only deprivation of learning opportunities is boring and only failure to learn is frustrating. If a child needs "reinforcement" for learning then there is only one conclusion to be drawn: that the child does not see any sense in the learning in the first place.

Making sense of language

My final remarks are on a somewhat different topic that is certainly critical in first language learning and may I suspect be particularly relevant to learning in other languages. I refer to the fact that language has a variety of functions.

Children do not begin life by learning "language" as such, they are never engaged in a purely linguistic exercise. The language they first hear and use always has a function. In fact I think the two are learned simultaneously—children learn language while learning functions of language. They learn that language can accomplish ends—that it can be used to satisfy needs, express feelings, explore ideas, ask questions, obtain answers, assert themselves, manipulate others, and establish and maintain specific interpersonal relations. Not all of these functions are learned at the same time. A child may seem to have learned language—in the sense of having mastered one or two functions—without comprehending other functions. Sometimes children may seem to have inadequate language when what they lack is experience in certain functions of language.

In school we must often seem to children to have some very odd functions for language. Sometimes we use language without any obvious function at all. We write isolated words on chalkboards, print meaningless sequences of words in books, talk about spelling and phonics, about paragraphs and punctuation, and require children to engage in obscure exercises and drills. In their world out of school, moreover, children rarely hear statements without the speaker revealing how he feels about what he is saying and about the person to whom he is adressing his remarks. I would not say to you "I think it's raining" simply because I have a passion for disseminating information. If I mention the weather you can be sure it makes a difference to me—I am pleased because the rain will water my lawn or annoyed because I left my umbrella at home. Moreover by involving you in my feelings about the weather I reveal how I feel about you—I establish intimacy, demonstrate trust. We usually only convey information impersonally, without disclosing what we feel about it, when we want to maintain distance from our listener. Children are very sensitive to these indicators of intimacy and distance, though they may not be very good at producing them or at inhibiting their production. Language in school is often conspicuously sterile, even for children who come from within our own culture and who might be expected to be relatively sensitive to nuances of expression. Some functions of language that children find most important we may attempt to suppress entirely, both in ourselves and in children.

One pervasive function of anyone's language is to exemplify how we prefer to be perceived by the rest of the world. The language that is most natural to us is as personal and significant as the way we dress and ornament ourselves. Any perceived attempt to change or reject our language may arouse the same resentment and hostility as would a reflection upon our personal appearance.

Children are not so sophisticated that they can necessarily distinguish the different functions of language from each other, or indeed from language itself. They may not realize that by trying to modify or develop some aspects of language we are not rejecting their language as a whole. In trying to suppress some functions of language, we may suppress language itself.

References

Smith, Frank. 1971. *Understanding reading.* New York, Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
————. 1973. *Psycholinguistics and reading.* New York, Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
————. 1975. *Comprehension and learning.* New York, Holt, Rinehart & Winsotn.

Teaching English As an Alien Language

EARL W. STEVICK

INTRODUCTION

This occasion is of great personal significance to me. New York is the city in which I had my first real professional job many years ago, and that job was in teaching ESOL. In the meantime, I have watched myself move from thinking that I wanted to be a language teacher, to thinking that I wanted to be a linguist, to knowing that I want to be a language teacher and not a linguist. The languages with which I work nowadays are quite different from English, but I feel that I am still in the same profession that Aileen Kitchin and Elizabeth Mitchell introduced me to here in New York sometime back in the first half of this century.

And all the while, I have been increasingly fascinated by what I have come to call "The Riddle of the Right Method." Let me explain what I mean by that. I have encountered that riddle in two forms: The first form of the riddle is concerned with the comparison of methods: Method A claims to be derived from one set of assumptions, and Method B claims to be derived from another set of assumptions. If the assumptions behind A are correct, then B cannot possibly work, and if the assumptions behind B are correct, then A cannot possibly work. This also applies to Methods C, D, E, F, G, G′, G″ and so on through Z. Yet, in practice each method does at least sometimes get undeniably good results. Why? And the second form of the riddle asks why a given method sometimes works beautifully, and sometimes fails dismally. Most of my thinking in the last three years has, in one way or another, been concerned with this riddle. What I would like to do today is to share with you the tentative, and partial, but deeply exciting fragment of the solution that I have been finding during the past three years.

I say "exciting" both because of the clearly superior linguistic performance of the students I have had recently, and because this superior performance comes with noticeably less strain on students and teachers. These favorable results have come, not from any particular technique, or from any single method. In fact, the methodological diversity in the classes that I am talking about has been as great as you are likely to find in an equal number of classes anywhere. Many of the materials and techniques that we have used have actually been quite conventional. The differences in results, from what the same

---

This selection is based on teaching done in a plenary session at the 1976 TESOL Convention. Earl Stevick teaches at the School of Language Studies, Foreign Service Institute, Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520.

teachers had formerly gotten with the same materials and similar classes, came from the selection and modification of techniques according to a set of principles which I first began to encounter about three years ago. I would like to tell you what these principles are, and then go on to some concrete ways of applying them.

I think it may be easier for you to grasp these principles, or this view of the learning process, if I put them into the words of a student, rather than speaking to you from the point of view of a teacher or a teacher trainer. The synthesis which I am about to present to you is my own, but I must acknowledge debts to Charles A. Curran and the late Ernest Becker.

ALIENATION

Speaking, then, as a student of a foreign language, I am first of all a human being. And as a human being, I am in a position that is not shared by the members of any other species: for one thing, I see myself as the center of my own universe; this much is possibly true of other animals as well. Second, I am aware of the differences between what is and what might be, and I am able to judge the alternatives as being more or less desirable. I am therefore capable of seeing myself as unique, and of forming a picture of myself, both as I am and as I would like to be. Third, I know that someday I will die. It therefore becomes terribly important for me to develop, maintain, and vindicate that picture of myself.

This means that I need to feel that I am "an object of primary value in a world of meaningful action." Yet the value system that I have put together in order to give meaning to my actions is at least partially contradicted by the value systems of the people around me. I need to feel that I am good, and that I am whole, yet how can I, a finite being, be certain of my own goodness or achieve wholeness?

And so my encounters with other people have contradictory effects on me. I cannot live—or at least I cannot be human—without others. Yet at the same time their very otherness is a threat to me: under conditions of famine or crowding, they endanger me physically, but under any circumstances, the ways they live and the values that they hold are a potential denial of my own self-image. This means that the way I live and the values that I hold will be a denial of the self-images of some of you my listeners. It also means that the ways some of you live, and the values that you hold, are a denial of my self-image. This is the pain of otherness. The Latin word for it is "alienation."

As a member of a language class, I find the possibility of experiencing alienation across at least four boundaries. The first is the boundary between the cultural group of which I am a member—the group that supports me in my self-image as well as in my physical existence—and the group that speaks the other (the alien!) language. I find this kind of alienation more in my language class than in my other classes, and more than in most of my encounters outside of school.

Let me for a moment leave the role of the student, and speak as an observer. In Wilga Rivers' 1968 book, she has a line that I never tire of quoting, which illustrates this cross-cultural alienation beautifully. It is the one where she tells us that in one period of English history, no self-respecting Englishman would have been caught dead pronouncing French with the "effeminate and obviously degenerate way of speaking used by the French themselves." When we say that a student has "integrative motivation" for learning a particular foreign language, we mean among other things that he feels little or none of this particular kind of alienation.

It seems to me that the strength of this first type of alienation would vary with the complexity and the intensity of intergroup feelings. If I am right, then crossculturally derived alienation will loom even larger in bilingual education than it will in conventional foreign language classes. The same should be true also for classes in which the students are supposed to be learning another dialect of their own native language.

Another point: We have been told by linguists that phonetic details of pronunciation are the most superficial part of language, and I believe the linguists are right on this point. But the symbolic value of these same subphonemic variants runs deeper into the personality—into the self-image—of the learner than the semantics, syntax, or phonological contrasts do. Therefore, this first kind of alienation, because it has to do with my picture of myself as a member of certain groups and as a nonmember of others, carries special force with regard to the learning of pronunciation.

The remaining three kinds of alienation are as common outside the language class as they are inside it. Speaking again as a student, the second boundary is that which separates me as an ignorant, powerless, and evaluated learner from the all-knowing, powerful, and evaluating teacher.

The third boundary is between me and my fellow students. They compete with me for the attention and approval of the all-knowing, powerful evaluator. In addition, I also want approval from them, not only for my academic performance, but even more for my social behavior. Trying to please both them and the teacher sometimes produces conflicts within me.

The final kind of alienation is between me and myself: between the performing me and the critical me who is observing the performance and scolding the performing me for its lapses; between the me who is striving to be adequate, and the me who has internalized other people's ideas of what adequacy is. This is the deepest and the most stubborn kind of alienation. An excellent, treatment of this fourth kind of alienation is to be found in *The Inner Game of Tennis,* by W. Timothy Gallwey. This is a book written by a teaching pro to help people play tennis better, but it contains a very down-to-earth assessment of what student and teacher may reasonably try to do in any learning situation. Numerous students and teachers of languages, to whom I have lent it, have recommended it highly.

All of these four kinds of alienation carry with them the threat of considerable pain. Therefore, in any of my encounters with other people—and my language class is no exception—I am vulnerable, and must protect myself. Some of the means that I employ for this purpose fall into the classic categories of "withdrawal" and "aggression." Withdrawal may take such forms as chronic lateness, or trying to avoid the teacher's eye, or saying as little as possible during the free conversation sessions. In being aggressive, I sometimes engage in antisocial behavior, or I may turn my aggression against myself, slapping my forehead with the heel of my hand when I make a mistake.

A third type of defense is to study hard, come up with the right answers, and get an A for the course. This last type is much less annoying to my teacher than the first two are, but it is only a little less detrimental to genuine learning. This is the way I went through four years of high school Latin, and I forgot almost all of it by the middle of my freshman year in college. Even in some modern languages, this defensive kind of learning has for me produced a kind of pseudomastery, which has evaporated soon after the final examination. And it has left me, in later contacts with ordinary speakers of these languages, in the paranoid posture of expecting those speakers to be more concerned with how I am using the language than they are with what I am saying. I have therefore tried to avoid speaking to them at all. The alienation which I experienced in the classroom has spread to color my perception of all speakers of the language.

These, then, are some of the insights that I believe my teachers might profit from in the field of personality theory. These insights would help my teachers to realize that I may not be so calm, or so purely intellectual, in my functioning as I sometimes appear. When I *am* visibly agitated, or when I am depressed, these same insights would remind my teachers that the first requirement of my psychological survival is to protect my own picture of myself. They would focus their attention first and foremost on this side of me, rather than on my native language habits, or on my language aptitude score, or on the quality of my performance in class.

And this reorientation of their attention would inevitably modify my teachers' goals. They would become conscious of the many ways in which what they do and how they do it affects the degree of alienation that I am feeling. They would therefore try to run their language courses in ways that would reduce the alienation among teachers and students, make it less necessary for me to defend myself, and leave me with an increased feeling of wholeness and worth. Under those conditions, whatever natural ability I have would be more fully released for learning the language (or for any other task at hand). This is a high and noble goal. What general strategy might my teachers follow in pursuing it?

A STRATEGY

Security of the Learner

I can see three elements in this strategy, three principles. I believe that these principles flow from the theoretical outlook that I have already sketched. The first principle is that, other things being equal, I learn more and I learn it better when I feel relatively secure. The concept of "security" is of course multifaceted and multilayered. Some aspects of security have to do with my external interests as a student: is the management of this course in firm, competent hands, and is what I am learning in the course an accurate and serviceable version of the language? Other aspects of security have to do with my picture of myself: am I what I would like to be as an intellectual being, and also as a social being? Do I have an adequate mind, and am I the kind of person that other people are willing to spend time with?

Some people have raised a question with regard to this concern for the security of the student. They have asked whether a student who is entirely free of tension will be motivated to learn. They have suggested that there is a certain optimum degree of insecurity for stimulating the learner. Well, first of all, this reminds me of a story that I heard when I was a boy, about a farmer who was raising hogs. He wanted the bacon to have alternating strips of fat and lean, so he fed them well every other day, and starved them on the intervening days. What I mean by this is that students are subject to so many kinds of insecurity, from so many sources, that even our best and most persistent efforts will not make them completely secure. In this connection also, I like the distinction that Charles Blatchford draws between "tension" and tenseness." "Tension" may come from lack of facts, or from incomplete understanding of subject matter. "Tenseness," as Blatchford used the term, is what comes from the various kinds of alienation that I have described (Blatchford 1976). In this sense, it is "tenseness" and not "tension" that I am saying we should try to minimize.

Involvement

Returning now to the general strategy for reducing alienation, the second element is that, other things being equal, and given at least some minimum amount of security, I learn better when what I am studying is something to which I can commit myself—or have already committed myself—in more than a narrowly cognitive way. When I say that I have "committed myself," I mean that I have chosen to do or say or read or listen to or look at one thing at the expense of doing or saying or reading or listening to or looking at something else. So each choice that I make inevitably costs me something, if only in this respect. In addition, the choice costs me something in physical and emotional involvement. But my choices may also reveal more or less about me as a person, and thus cost me some of my privacy. The areas and levels of possible commitment are too numerous to list here, but that very fact makes this element of the strategy all the more important. Learner-generated materials would be an extreme example of the application of this principle, but the less dramatic examples that we can find in the modification and adaptation of existing materials and procedures probably count for more in the long run.

Independence and Interdependence

The third element in the strategy is that, other things being equal, I learn better from myself than from anyone else, and that I learn better from those who are my peers in the power structure, than I do from those who are above me in it. This is particularly true in the early stages, when I am least secure.

But can I expect my teachers to apply all of these principles at the same time, or must they settle for some kind of trade-off among them? Specifically, how can we learners feel "secure" if we are learning from materials and procedures that are at least partially the result of our own choices, and when we are learning from ourselves and from one another? Won't we, under these conditions, find ourselves floundering, pooling our ignorance, and reinforcing our own mistakes? Won't this make us *in*secure?

Control and Initiative

I believe that these three principles work against one another only if control by the teacher excludes initiative from the learners, and vice versa. I suspect that we have often assumed that this is indeed the way things are: that if I as a teacher want my students to have more initiative, I have to give up some of my own control, and that if I want to exercise more control, I must necessarily cut off some of their initiative. But as I am using these terms, I do not think that this is true at all. Let me explain what I mean by "control" and "initiative."

First, "control." Under "control" I include two functions; first, the establishment and maintenance of rules for classroom behavior, including both deportment and learning procedures. With most classes, it will also include a certain amount of setting of general tasks for the students to undertake. Second, "control" in a language class means making it possible for the learner to find out readily how what he does compares with the language behavior of native speakers. By "initiative" I mean choice of who is going to say what, to whom, and when.

In the sense in which I have just defined these terms, the purpose of "control" is to provide the necessary limits on the learning space of the student, and to structure it enough so that the student's time and psychic energy are not dissipated in the purely logistic preliminaries to the task of learning the language. The student who does not feel that the teacher is in this sense in control of the class will quite properly become apprehensive, and too much apprehension quickly erodes security.

"Initiative," on the other hand, has to do with what happens inside the student's learning space. In most of the language classes where I have been a student, an observer, or a teacher, the teacher has exerted a near monopoly not only on control, but also on initiative. "Repeat this word after me." "Give the next line of this drill." "Answer this question." "Write a paragraph on this topic." In all of these ways, the teacher is saying to the student, "Now try to do this so that I may tell you how you did." We not only invade the learner's space, we also evaluate his every move within it.

When we do invade the learner's space, and evaluate what the learner does within that space, we are contributing directly to alienation across the teacher-student boundary. At the same time, we are providing indirect support for the type of alienation that exists between the performing and the critical selves of the student. We are also losing an opportunity to encourage the growth of cooperation and community among the students, and thus to reduce the alienation that exists among them. If, on the other hand, we maintain control but reserve most of the initiative for the students, we can hope to leave the students feeling better about themselves, each other, and us. This, then, is the general strategy that I am describing.

EXAMPLES OF TACTICS

Moving now from strategy to tactics, I would like to describe for you two procedures. Each of these procedures has been used in real classes in at least two languages, but my purpose in describing them is only to illustrate how following this strategy can differ from not following it.

The first is a procedure for systematically exploring and practicing a selected feature of grammatical structure. (In case you do not recognize it from this ponderous description, our usual name for this sort of activity is "drill.")

1. The class (or the teacher) selects a point to be practiced.
2. The class (or the teacher) suggests a sentence that illustrates the point of grammar.
3. A student, acting as secretary for the class, writes the sentence on the board.
4. The students check the sentence for accuracy. If necessary, the teacher then provides additional information bearing on the suitability of the sentence: "I know what you mean, but what I would say is ———," and so on.
5. In the same way, the students suggest additional sentences which become the remaining lines of the drill, and then practice them. The teacher participates only as needed.

During this procedure, the teacher remains to one side, physically as well as verbally. The first few times, the teacher may need to explain the procedure, and to provide a format for the drill. But soon the students will be able to take over these functions. The one indispensable function of the teacher is to verify the individual sentences, after the class has had a chance to correct them, and before they are incorporated into the drill. This verification is done in a matter-of-fact and unobtrusive manner. By verifying the sentences, the teacher is providing one of the things essential to the students' security. By withdrawing from the other functions, the teacher is leaving initiative in the hands of the students. This allows them to make a maximum number of choices, and also requires them to help one another and to depend on one another. In addition, it means that each student is more likely to understand exactly what he is doing when the class gets around to performing the drill. Alienation between teacher and students, and among students, is reduced. The drill is now a community response to a need for practicing a point, rather than just one more hurdle which someone—teacher or textbook writer—has placed before the students on their way to the end of the lesson. I should add that the rewards are greater for the teacher, too, because the students learn more, with less frustration and boredom, and their improved morale makes them more pleasant to be around. Not least, the teacher feels that she has been an essential part of a process with significance that runs deeper than the mere imparting of verbal skills.

The second procedure is for use with the sentences of a new dialog, or with any other material that the students need to learn to pronounce. In the presentation of new material, the power of the teacher relative to the students is at its maximum. Inevitably, it is she who knows what is correct, and whatever comes out of the students' mouths is almost certain to be at least partly incorrect. Customarily but not inevitably, the teacher sits with her book open in front of her and selects sentence after sentence as she feels that the class is ready for them. The students sit with their books closed, imitate the teacher as best they can, and hope that the teacher's verbal and/or nonverbal communications about their performance will not be discouraging. In a procedure that we have used, on the other hand, the students' books are open and the teacher's is closed! She still knows the language, but she does not know what is coming next. The students take turns in selecting from the book the sentence to be practiced. Each student's turn consists of three parts:

1. The student makes some kind of commitment, either by reading aloud the native language equivalent of the phrase he wants to hear, or by saying the foreign language experssion as best he can.
2. The teacher says the sentence in a normal, supportive, but matter-of-fact way, giving no indication whether or where the student may have made a mistake.
3. The student repeats the sentence, listening and comparing his own pronunciation with the teacher's. The teacher continues to look supportive, but gives no indication of how well the student performed.

From time to time during the procedure, the teacher may interrupt with an observation, directed to the class as a whole, that this point or that point still needs work. This is quite different from directing the same information at an individual.

I should warn that in this procedure, the students need to know what is happening and why. Otherwise, the lack of evaluative feedback may leave them with the feeling that their learning space has lost its limits, and this can be upsetting. But when everyone understands what is going on, the absence of negative *or positive* evaluation from the teacher removes a real source of anxiety and alienation. The students are free to work on what they feel the need to work on, and to become their own evaluators, and to develop their own inner criteria. Time and again, we have seen students learn new sounds as fast this way as any other way, and often faster.

RELATION OF THESE IDEAS TO THE "HUMANISTIC" TREND IN LANGUAGE TEACHING

Let me move on now to compare what I have said with some related points of view.

In the last few years, we have been hearing more and more about the so-called "humanistic" trend in language education. The outlook that I have been describing obviously falls within that category. In order to put my own position into perspective, I need to compare it with other concepts which are also quite properly labeled "humanistic."

Individualization

Let us look first at "individualization." Needless to say, "individualization" of language instruction means different things to different people, and I do not have time here to undertake a survey of the literature on that subject. But if we look at the papers from a recent Symposium on Individualized Instruction, I think the following description would not be unfair. (This symposium appeared in the *Modern Language Journal,* November, 1975.)

Individualization is "humanistic" in the sense that it views each student as a unique combination of aptitudes, attitudes, cognitive styles, social background, interests, personal goals, and so forth (Chastain), and also in that, in principle at least, it aims at providing a different instructional system for each individual (Niedzielski). Leaders in the field of individualization recognize that this does not mean that students will spend all of their time studying in isolation, because language, is, after all, something that gets its meaning from interaction among people. They are therefore very clear that their programs should include group work (papers by Grittner, Chastain, Niedzielski), with frequent "simulated natural" use of the language in class.

It is easy to see why individualized courses are generally more deserving of the "humanistic" label than courses which provide a single curriculum for everyone to ride (or to be dragged) along. The principal difference between the views of the individualizers and my own view shows up most clearly in regard to the place of interaction among students. They sometimes view it as a component which may alternate with isolated activity (Valdman), and which is necessary because of the social nature of language (Niedzielski).

As Chastain tells us, this may lead in practice to "individualization" being defined as "students studying individually," with occasional "display sessions" in which they try to produce "simulated natural" use of the language (Valdman). Interaction among students thus becomes just one more expedient in the armamentarium of the teacher, for achieving the same goals at which the nonindividualized courses aimed. Because they see the social aspect of their language classes in this limited way, they can allow themselves to fail to give serious and sustained attention to the self-concept which the student brings with him, and to the many kinds of threat and laceration which that self-concept may meet, and to the resulting forms of alienation and defensive learning which may arise as a result of those threats and lacerations. I, on the other hand, see the importance of social relationships as stemming, *not from the nature of language, but from the nature of learning itself.* I see isolated individual study as a special case of this principle, and not as an exception to it. While I agree that the presence of "simulated natural" language use is better than mere parroting and mechanical drilling, I have also become keenly aware of the very genuine communication that is going on continuously whenever two or more people are together. Some of this communication is verbal, and in a language class it may be in the target language or the native language, but a terribly important part of it is nonverbal.

In short, the position that I am taking today comes closer to "socialization" of instruction than to "individualization" of it. I cannot agree that the only thing wrong with "truly and completely individualized instruction" is that it is too difficult to achieve (Niedzielski). I would rather urge the individualizers to heed three of the lessons that Grittner draws from the history of language teaching:

— Isolated task-completion is demotivating to many students;
— Students appear to need social interaction as well as independent study;
— The wisdom of fragmenting the curriculum into separate cognitive and affective components for the purpose of individualization [is doubtful].

As Chastain put it, the essence of individualizing does not lie in learning in an isolated context. It lies, rather, in gearing the learning to the needs of the individual. What I am saying is that these needs are even more comprehensive than the papers in this symposium would indicate, and that many of the most urgent of these needs lie along a dimension which these papers seem barely to recognize.

The Emphasis on Communication

Another recent emphasis within the humanistic movement has been on using the FL for communication in the classroom. "Communication" has sometimes been viewed as a fifth "skill," in addition to but also transcending the four skills of listening, speaking, reading and writing. The essential characteristic of "communication" in this sense is that what the student says or writes comes from himself, and not from the teacher or the textbook. It comes, furthermore, from a broader and deeper range of the student's personality than merely his intellectual, language-learning self. It draws on his needs and feelings, and on facts that he alone, of all the people in the classroom, knows. One of the characteristic qualities of communication is therefore spontaneity. Another is a healing of the schizophrenia between the malleable self that tries to produce correct sentences, and the self that has things that it wants to say to other people (Rivers).

This view of communication harmonizes with what I have been saying today in three respects. First, the student's willingness to communicate on levels that have significance for him depends on—I could almost say it is proportional to—his feeling of security. He needs to feel socially secure with classmates and teacher. He also needs to feel sure that in the midst of his communication, the teacher will not flip back to the old mistake-counting, admonitory relationship.

The emphasis on communication also agrees closely with my second principle, that people learn better when what they are working with is something which represents a relatively deep level of self-commitment. And when students help one another, (my third principle) that kind of activity becomes in itself an added realm within which real communication becomes possible.

The point at which I differ with most of what has been written about communication in the classroom is the common assumption that there must be some kind of temporal sequence leading from presentation by the teacher, through carefully controlled practice, and structured semi-communication, culminating at last in fully spontaneous use of the language. A simple example of this kind of thinking comes from something I wrote several years ago, and with which I was particularly pleased at the time. I said that "use of the newly learned sounds, words, or grammar patterns in genuine communication is like the keystone of an arch: alone, it is unsupported and impossible, but without it the other stones soon fall away and are scattered." I still think that this is true as far as it goes. The point that I overlooked, and the point that some people still overlook today, is that this range of activities is not necessarily a one-way sequence. For one thing, some of the steps in it can often be omitted. More important, the sequence can be reversed, and often should be. The most obvious example of this is that manipulative drills have more meaning and greater effect when they arise as the aftermath of a communicative event in which the students have been deeply involved, than they have when they are presented as precommunicative calisthenics.

And I would like to repeat here what I said above with regard to individualization: we are quite accustomed to looking at the side of communication which consists of the consciously intended linguistic meanings. We are also beginning to be aware of the social and cultural significance of what is said and done, beyond and beneath the literal linguistic meanings. All of this is exotic enough to get our attention as teachers of things foreign. What we still overlook all too easily is the full and endless communication that goes on, frequently on the periphery of awareness, between people whenever they get together—even when their reason for getting together is to study a foreign language!

“Counseling-Learning”

One relatively early humanistic approach to education has only recently begun to receive attention among language teachers. This approach is called “Counseling-Learning.” The distinctive emphasis of Counseling-Learning is that the whole person of the learner is involved, for better or for worse, in the process of learning according to any method. Counseling-Learning recognizes the many ways in which alienation may make itself felt in the classroom, and points out that alienation gives to learning a defensive quality which seriously reduces its efficiency. It claims that a student who feels secure in the learning situation will be more ready to involve himself in the process, emotionally and physically as well as intellectually, and that he will learn better to the degree that his whole self is involved. I believe that what I have said here, as far as it goes, has been largely consistent with this understanding of Counseling-Learning.

CONCLUSION

With this concern for the human side of language learning, and for the “socialization” as well as the “individualization” of instruction, the concept of “community” in the classroom takes on great importance. I would like to close by quoting for you a beautiful, perceptive, and subtle description of community, written by George Elliott, who teaches creative writing at Syracuse University. He says,

> A good class pulls together into a kind of community. It is only an occasional kind of community, and there is no way to prescribe how to bring such a community into being . . . Freedom to make or not to make a community of a class is essential if you are to make it at all.
>
> An alternative to squatting sequestered in the fastness of pedantry is to strive in the classroom to let come into being a fragile community. The extraordinary ingredient in making communities is not possessing the power to make them, but exercising that power, wanting them enough to risk failure. Our life is so far from nature now that many no longer know they have the power of communion, of making even fragile communities, and many have too little hope of exercising that power successfully even to try, even to want to try. The faith must be restored. What can we who are believers but not great prophets do to restore this faith except exercise that power as best we can?

That is George Elliott’s statement, and I have found it to be not only moving, but also minutely accurate.

At one crucial point in his career, Martin Luther is supposed to have said, "Here I stand; I can do no other." I would like to paraphrase Luther. I do not feel that I am ready to take a stand at some fixed point, but I can say that "In this direction I move. I can do no other": in the direction of recognizing, as I teach, the tremendous potential for alienation which lies in the experience of learning a new language; in the direction of trying to help the student's whole self to become more harmoniously involved in the process of learning; and in striving to let a community come into being in the classroom.

But I am going to depart from the tradition of convention speakers. At this point, it is customary to issue a ringing call for everyone in the audience to drop what they have been doing, and to join the speaker in whatever he may be advocating. I am not going to do that. I am not going to do it because I am not sure that this style of teaching is for everyone. Although its rewards have been great for me, this style of teaching goes far beyond—or beneath—techniques, methods and materials. It carries with it risks to the teacher, and taking this kind of risk requires a committment that not everyone may be in a position to make.

And so I say, for myself, not "Here I stand," but "In this direction I move; God helping me, I can do no other."

References

Becker, Earnest. 1973. *The denial of death.* New York, The Free Press.

Blatchford, Charles. 1976. "The Silent Way and Teacher Training." In J. Fanselow and R. Crymes (eds.) *On TESOL '76.* Washington, D.C., TESOL.

Curran, Charles A. 1972. *Counseling Learning—A whole person model for education.* New York, Gruner and Stratton.

Gallwey, Timothy W. 1974. *The inner game of tennis.* New York, Random House.

Rivers, Wilga M. 1968. *Teaching foreign language skills.* Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.

Manipulation of Sentence Structure with Cuisenaire Rods for Teaching English as a Second Language

HERBERT SUNDVALL and JUDI KEEN

We have developed a method for teaching English as a second language that is creative for the teacher as well as for the student. This method uses colored rods, which are not new to ESL teaching (Allen; Gattegno). Some of the Silent Way techniques can be used together with the one we are about to discuss. What is needed is a box of colored rods used for teaching mathematics in elementary school. Most frequently, they are called Algebricks or Cuisenaire Rods. They come in different sizes and colors. The relationship between size and color is important because it helps the student to distinguish between different construction types and different parts of speech.

The various parts of speech are vividly color-coded and are thus given an immediate visual identity from which the student may generate an infinite variety of verbal substitutions. The student is completely involved and literally manipulates the sentence structure of the new language.

The use of colors for teaching sentence structure has been used before without rods. Robert L. Allen developed a system of explaining grammatical points using colored chalk to represent different parts of speech and changes in structure (1957). His system is a very interesting tool for explaining grammar, although, as he states, "It is not intended as a method for teaching foreign students to speak English—or even to wirte it." (Allen 1957: 110.)

Professor Allen's method also makes use of actual words written on a blackboard. In this sense, our methods differ. We do not use written words. The rods are symbols for words and structure, enabling students to see how the structures move and change to form questions from statements and to see word order relationships. The students must themselves provide the words to match the colored rods, thereby learning how to manipulate the language as they manipulate the rods.

What we have developed stems from a demonstration for teaching composition given at the 1975 TESOL Convention in Los Angeles by Linda Ann Kunz of Language Innovations, Inc., New York City. After seeing this demonstration, Judi Keen brought it back to Seattle where

---

This selection is based on teaching done in a demonstration lesson at the 1976 TESOL Convention. Herbert Sundvall and Judi Keen teach at the English Language Service Language Center, Seattle, Washington 98122.

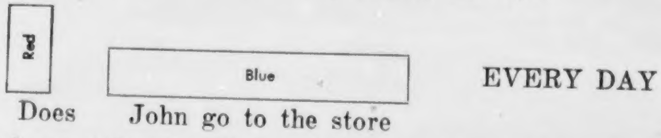
we proceeded to apply the idea of rods representing sentence structures at the elementary level. This approach is not intended to be used in teaching writing skills. Its linguistic aim is to develop the student's *verbal* use of English. Although we have developed this method for many other grammatical structures, what we wish to present here is a method of introducing and teaching *is* and *does* with statements and questions, including WH- questions.

First, the teacher and the class should sit on the floor in a circle. This creates a more relaxed atmosphere than students sitting in seats waiting to be called on by the teacher to repeat or generate a sentence structure. The teacher places the rods to be used in front of him. The rods hold the attention of the students so that they tend not to lose interest waiting for their turn in a drill or look at other objects or students in the room. Concentrated and focused interest in the rods removes the anxiety of standard drill situations and other techniques which demand a certain degree of nervous attentiveness in the classroom. The method of eliciting responses from either individuals or the group depends a great deal upon the teacher's own personal use of gestures and facial expressions, which the students come to know within a short time. It is equally important that this method be introduced verbally only, with never any use of written materials during the presentation.

On a large piece of paper placed on the floor, write:

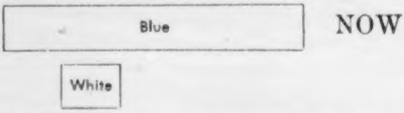
YESTERDAY
EVERY DAY
NOW
TOMORROW

Place a blue rod next to EVERY DAY. Then say, "John goes to the store." At this point, no student response is elicited. Next, take a red rod and place it vertically next to the blue:



and say "Question." Pointing to the red rod say, "Does." Pointing to the blue say, "John go to the store?" Then the class responds as a group while the teacher points to the rods. Next, the teacher hands the rods to a student who repeats the process by himself, placing the rods in position while repeating the question. The student may then pass the rods to another student who repeats the process. For variety, especially if the class is large, the fourth student may generate a different question using the same form, with the next student either repeating that new question or generating a third one.

Next place a blue rod beside NOW. Then place a white rod underneath it in the insert position:

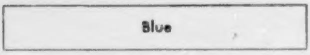


The teacher says "John" [pointing to the blue rod] and says "is" [pointing to the white rod] "going to the store" [back to the blue rod]. The class repeats the sentence as the teacher points to the rods: "John [blue] is [white] going to the store [blue]." Now shift the white rod to the question position and wait for the response: "Is John going to the store?" Then hold up the white rod and look at the class questioningly; class response: *Is*. Hold up the red rod; class response: *Does.* Reinforce the two statements and their questions.

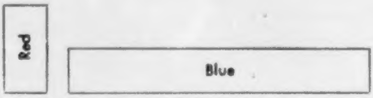
After this, you may drill the class on simple present and continuous present, correcting any confusion of *is, are,* and *am* or *does* and *do* by holding up the white rod or the red rod for correction. The teacher does not need to say anything as the student will automatically make the correction himself because of the visual prompting. We have found that this method eliminates the *is* and *does* confusion even for most slow students.

After this, it is a simple step to introduce the simple past and the future with "be going to." The students will see that *does* and *did* appear only in questions in the simple past and present tenses, and that *is, am,* and *are* appear both in statements and questions in the continuous present and the future with "be going to." The four tenses may then be drilled with the white rod in one hand and the red in the other.

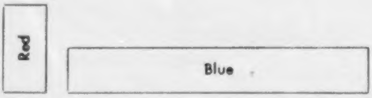
Later, when modals are introduced, the red rod may be used again and the student will see the structural relationship between auxiliary *does* and *do* and modal auxiliary:



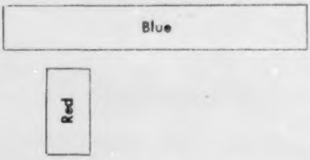
He read yesterday.



Did he read yesterday?



Will he read tomorrow?



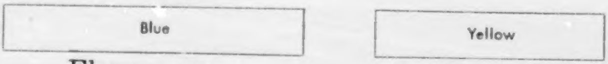
He will read tomorrow.

Thus, the introduction of questions with modals becomes simplified and more easily understood.

The rods are used for introduction and reinforcement and should be discarded in future drills after the whole class has understood the structures. Normally, they should not be used in advanced, situational activities. Later the rods can be used for short reviews of a previous day's or hour's work, or for a thorough review of a great number of structures which they have worked with. We have found that this activity in particular not only serves a linguistic purpose but also builds the class and individual morale because the students are able to fully control and manipulate the English language by themselves without the teacher's aid.

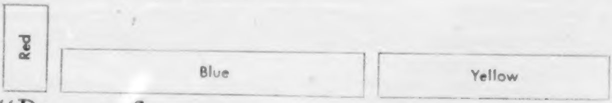
The next step concerns questions with WHERE, WHEN, and HOW, which should be introduced before the other question words for reasons that will be shown.

Blue represents the basic sentence unit: subject + verb. Yellow represents the adverbial phrase:



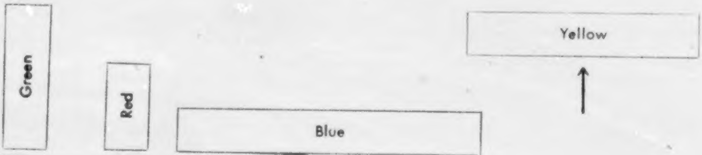
Flowers grow in the garden.

All of this should be introduced verbally only, with no use of the blackboard or written materials. The teacher should say, "Flowers grow," as he places the blue rod on the floor in front of him, and "in the garden" as he places the yellow rod down next to it, as shown above. The yellow rod stands for place, time, or manner. For questions, the yellow rod is moved away, but not removed, from the rod grouping, and the green rod is introduced as the question word. First reinforce the question form previously taught. Begin with the red rod in vertical position for the question:



Class: "Do flowers grow in the garden?"

After moving the yellow, introduce the green rod in the vertical position:



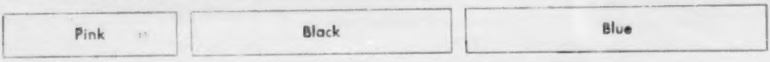
Class: "Where do flowers grow?"

For the answer, the teacher points to the yellow rod.

Class: "In the garden."

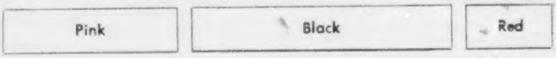
For WHEN and HOW, the process is the same.

WHO and WHAT should come next. Because these require object as well as subject questions, we add more rods: First, show the students (verbally, as done previously) that Pink + Black = Blue:

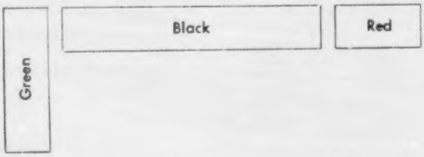


flowers grow = flowers grow

For subject position:

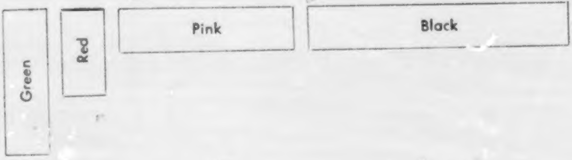


John loves Mary.



Who loves Mary?

For object:

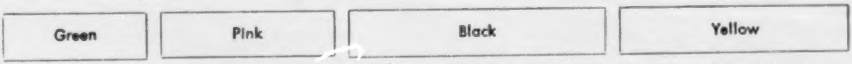


Who does John love?

That red is doing double-duty here does not disturb students. They easily accept red *horizontal as object* and red *vertical as "does."* One teacher, when shown this formation at a faculty demonstration, objected that red=*does* is not grammatically correct to answer the question *Who does*=Mary. But students find no contradiction here. They are able to make the leap and are not confused.

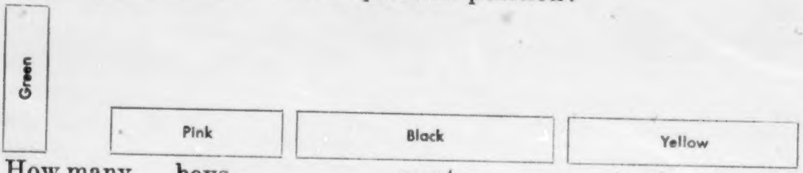
The process for WHAT is done exactly in the same way as for WHO.

The next step introduces HOW MANY, WHOSE, and WHICH in subject position first. Here, green does double duty as subject modifier—once again with no problem of confusion if green is used in the horizontal position:



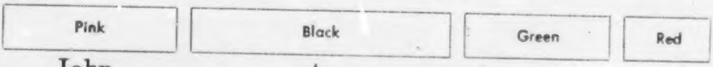
Ten	boys	went	to the store.
John's	mother	went	to the store.
The Mexican	student	went	to the store.

Here the process is beautiful in its simplicity. Merely reverse the position of green to the vertical question position:



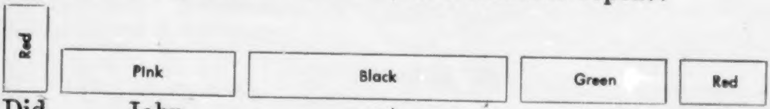
How many boys went to the store?
Whose mother went to the store?
Which students went to the store?

In the object position, green continues as modifier, this time of the object:



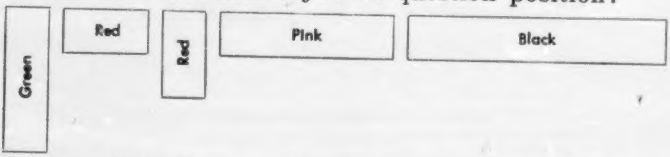
John ate ten apples.
John ate my apples.
John took the green pen.

First add red question rod and have students repeat:



Did John eat ten apples? etc.

Then shift the modifier and object to question position:



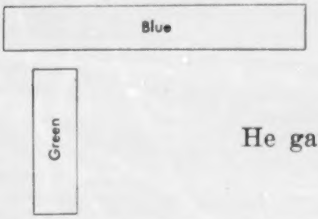
How many apples did John eat?
Whose apples did John eat?
Which pen did John take?

At first glance, the object process may seem complicated by too many rods. But usage has proven that students readily accept the rod-color-position configuration. Once again, drilling may begin with rods in position on the floor with students and teacher seated on the floor, relaxed, around the rods. Later, the rods are removed and the class practices without them while maintaining the images of the colored rods in their minds.

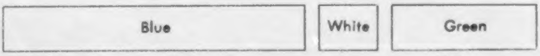
We have found that this teaching process, as well as the learning process, proceeds in a relaxed atmosphere, is interesting and creative for both the teacher and the student, and requires less mental and physical exertion on the part of all concerned. The students become actively engaged in the teaching process and help teach themselves, which is a very comfortable and nondefensive way to learn a second language.

Can this process be applied to sentence structures other than the question? Amazingly, yes. The teacher who first introduced the method to our second-level elementary English class had an exciting and enriching experience. Unable to figure out how to use this process for explaining the indirect object, the teacher admitted his confusion to the class and asked for their help. Having followed the process thus far, several students immediately came up with the answer, without hesitation. The teacher had thought that surely extra colors, new rods, would have to be introduced for *to* or *for*. The students used the available rods, once again making them do double duty without any sense of confusion. Thus, we give credit for this revelation to the students of Class 102A, ESL Language Center, Seattle, Washington, Friday the 13th, June 1975.

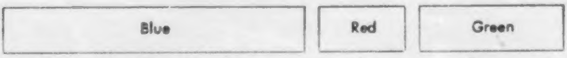
They began with the blue construction:



He gave *Mary* a book.

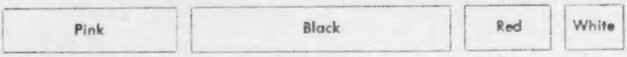


He gave a book to Mary.

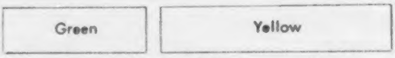


He opened the door for her.

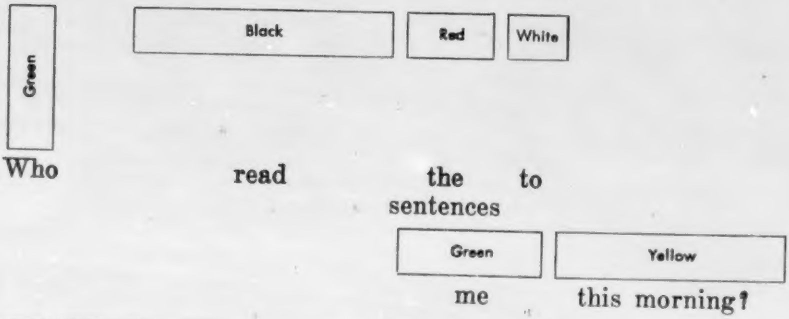
The students then made the next step to the question form (a step that had seemed hopelessly complicated to the teacher):



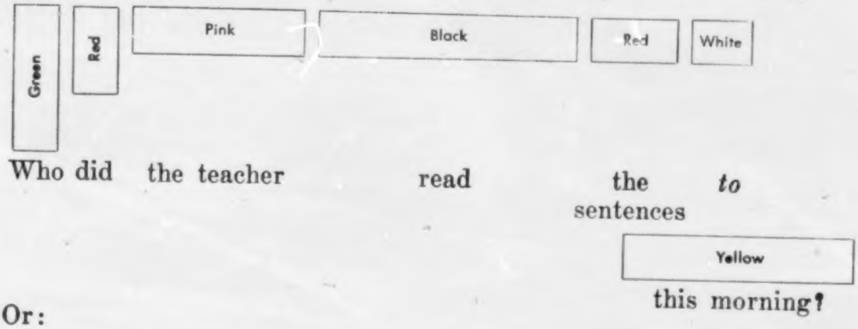
The teacher read the sentences to



me this morning.

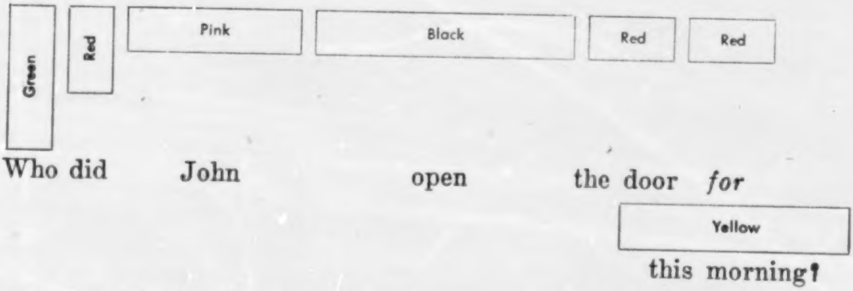

Green
Black
Red
White
Green
Yellow

Who read the sentences to me this morning?


Green
Red
Pink
Black
Red
White
Yellow

Who did the teacher read the sentences *to* this morning?

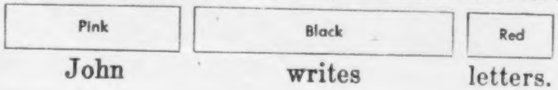
Or:


Green
Red
Pink
Black
Red
Red
Yellow

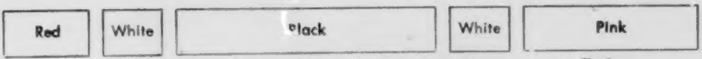
Who did John open the door *for* this morning?

And lo and behold, there sits the *to* and *for* in position—alone—no confusion possible. At this point, the teacher was amazed to realize that the alternate possibility was there also—and just as simple. Carry over the white or red rod with the object and you have *to whom* and *for whom* also. I think the diagram speaks for itself in this case. And the students worked it out for themselves.

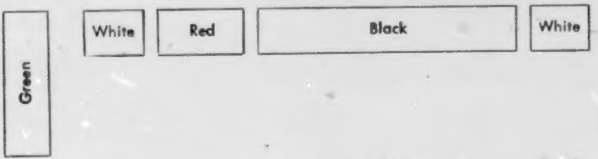
Going a step further, the process was extended to questions in the passive voice by another teacher at our Center, Candace Jarrett:


Pink
Black
Red

John writes letters.



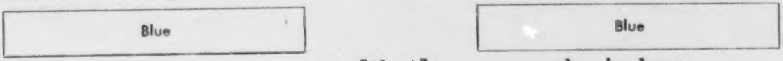
Letters are written by John.



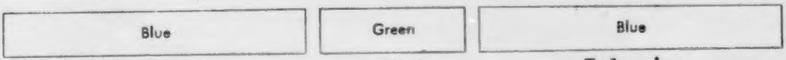
Who are letters written *by*?

Once again, the students can visualize the process. They can see the *by* remaining by itself and can easily practice recreating the structure and its transformation.

Soon after, another teacher, Ann Silverstein, came up with a solution to the problem of teaching embedded statements:

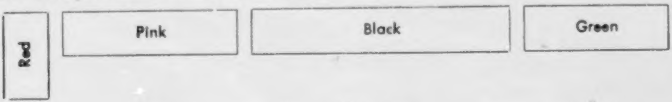


I know [that] he is here.

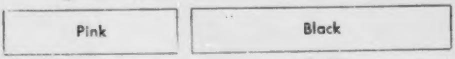


I know who John is.

With the rods the student can see that there is no change. Both parts of the sentence remain the same, with no subject-verb switch. For questions, the students can see what is otherwise so difficult for most students: that the subject-verb position remains the same at the end of the sentence.



Do you know who



John is?

The description of this method will seem like some strange, complicated secret code if the reader does not work it out for himself with the rods. If rods are not available, use cut-out colored strips of paper or cardboard. Remember, this is not a theory, but a *practical* method that has been developed, tried, and proven in the classroom. It has also been extended by the students themselves and by teachers other than the authors of this article. It is a creative method that brings rewards and excitement for the teacher as well as for the students. Its possibilities in teaching language structure have only begun to be developed. Do not just read about it. Try it.

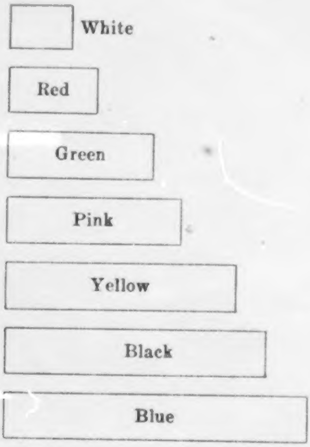
References

Allen, Robert L. 1957. *Graphic grammar.* Monograph Series on Language and Linguistics, No. 9, 109–133. Washington, D.C., Georgetown University Press.

Gattegno, Caleb. 1963. *Teaching foreign languages in schools the silent way.* New York, Educational Solutions.

APPENDIX

Actual size and gradation of color rods.



Language Learning in Social Situations

ABBY THOMAS

Language teachers these days seem committed to an odyssey without maps in search of the best way to teach—a journey through fog and swamp which leads most of us from the relative security of one methodological islet, through a quagmire of doubt and confusion to another, and so on until we may come to feel we are pursuing a will-o'-the-wisp: that most students will or will not learn irrespective of what we do for, or to, them. Paradoxically, this situation arises partly because of the enormous wealth of theoretical and methodological resources available to teachers: it is a confused wealth, full of opposing cross-currents, battling theories, contradictions. One source of confusion, for the teacher who is neither a genius nor an experienced researcher, is the variety of approaches which are taken to the same central problems. For example, research on child learning at times clarifies, but at others obscures, our vision of how an adult learns; research on effective learning strategies used by adult students in an audio-lingual or pattern-drill class may not tell us how effective those same strategies would be in the context of a silent way lesson.

And new methods are presented to us apocalytically as wholes: their creators, precisely because they are visionaries and creators, are notoriously unable to consider theirs a partial product, better for some things than for others, and to offer us suggestions for integrating one method with another to form a balanced, truly eclectic approach to the learner's intricate net of needs. Intelligent integration of methods, based on informed choice, is therefore, of necessity, up to teachers.

In order to do this teachers must create for themselves a theoretical base, that is, make the best set of decisions possible to them, about how a language is really learned. The experts have not succeeded in doing this satisfactorily for us. This theoretical base should grow and change with a teacher's experience; the important thing is that the base be there, at each moment, helping the teacher to make decisions which he can emotionally and intellectually support in action, about methods, techniques, and content for his class.

Attempting to do this myself, I have begun observing the behavior of effective adult language-learners in social conversation with native speakers (when they are somewhat more free from the constraints of their teachers' methodological choices, than they are within the class-

---

This selection is based on teaching done in a presentation at the 1976 TESOL Convention. Abby Thomas teaches at Instituto Fénix #1, Apartado 102-B, Cuernavaca, Morelos, Mexico.

room), and talking with them informally about how they perceive their own learning processes and strategies. The following observations and preliminary conclusions are not the result of an objective or scholarly study, but are based on personal observation, eked out by conversation with students and other teachers, over the span of ten years' involvement with language learning in different situations. All these observations concern young adults (ages 18–35) who, either concomitantly to my observation of them or previously to it, have had classroom instruction in the language concerned. They include:

(a) adult learners of Spanish as a second language in a partial immersion situation, at Instituto Fénix, Cuernavaca, Mexico;

(b) adult learners of English as a second language—the teachers of Fénix;

(c) myself, an adult learner of Somali as a second language in a Peace Corps training program in New York City and living in Somalia and of Spanish as a second language living in Mexico.

This discussion will deal only with spoken language, and not with the learning of non-verbal and customary communication systems. It will be organized around the following schema, which represents a rough and simple classification of the major steps or processes which a language-learner goes through in his learning of each new element of a language, be this a vocabulary item, a structural or usage principle, an idiomatic expression, etc. (idea from Gretchen Dowling, presentation in in-service teacher-training program, Paterson Adult Learning Center, 1975):

I. INVOLVEMENT WITH MEANING. Figuring out what something means, or expressing one's own meaning.

II. FOCUS. This is basically cognition: perception of the linguistic nature of a new item, and, when possible figuring out how it works linguistically.

III. PRACTICE. Re-using already-focussed things. To the extent that the student tries something out in a new way and looks for feedback about its appropriateness in the new situation, this very often has a cognitive aspect; it also includes the problems of committing items to memory and later retrieval of those items; but my own tendency is to consider "practice" as being, in the main, the behaviorist aspect of learning: developing habits through repeated use.

IV. REAL COMMUNICATION. Using the new thing, once focussed and practiced, in a completely "meaningful" way.

The above should not be considered a fixedly chronological listing, since the student is often shifting rapidly between the different modes, depending on his particular perceptive or communicative need of the moment; and certainly different teaching methods arrange these basic steps in different orders (community language learning, for example, begins with a combination of (I) and (IV) and later moves into (II) and (III)). Our purpose here is to look at how the good learner in a "real communication" frame uses the other three; we could say that our model is IV, I, II, III.

Students of Spanish as a second language at Fénix are in a partial to near-total immersion situation, since most live with local families who speak no English, and the use of any language other than Spanish is prohibited within the school. They are thus from the very beginning thrown into situations which run the gamut from extremely simple ones, which *could* be handled completely non-verbally by acting-out, to situations which are linguistically, emotionally and culturally fairly complex. However, they all evince some common elements: first, the student really wants to, or really has to, deal with them; and he *must* do this in the target language if he wishes to use language at all. And second, information is really being exchanged.

These two observations constitute a definition of the "meaningful practice" or "real communication" which most teachers desire so avidly for their students. However, they do not automatically produce quality practice and learning, because the student in conversation usually feels heavy emotional and time pressures; and what he is hearing and trying to say is not usually controlled in accordance with any classroom sequence he may be following: Buffeted by these forces, most students get so caught up in meaning (I) that most concentration on learning or practicing linguistic form (II and III) go by the board—even if they knew how to go about doing these things on their own, which many students do not. The student's general tendency seems to be to think of conversation in the second language as a crisis situation, wherein his task is not to learn new things, but simply to survive; and survival consists of understanding what the native speaker is saying, and getting his own meaning across. How much this situation can be changed if we can teach students how to learn and practice, is an open question; but to some extent it probably can be. The following discussion will deal in turn with meaning, focus, and practice, placing most stress on focus (not because focus is most important, but because up to now it has interested me the most); thereafter I will offer some suggestions about possible implications for the classroom.

I. MEANING. In dealing with how the effective learner handles meaning in conversation, I will not treat here specific strategies which, however, are extremely important—in particular, guessing for comprehension, and risk-taking in speech (see Rubin 1975, for a preliminary attempt to describe these and other behaviors of the effective learner); rather, I would like only to examine briefly the truism that the good language learner has a "strong drive to communicate, or to learn from a communication" (Rubin 1975:46). This is of course true, but with the crucial proviso that the good learner handles this drive in a special way. He seldom gets so caught up in communicating meaning for its own sake that he loses sight of his long-term goal of improving his way of speaking (making it more "native"). This can be observed most clearly in the range of stimuli which provoke students to self-correction: the tendency of the majority is to focus on a new linguistic item, or to correct themselves, only if they are stopped and embarrassed because what they have said is so wrong that it is, at least momentarily, unintelligible to the native speaker; or if they are completely unable to get their idea across, or to understand the other's idea, without stopping to focus on a new item. The good students, however, can be observed to correct themselves and exhibit other learning behaviors described below, even when they are obviously feeling understood or understanding: in order to learn for the sake of learning, not simply in order to "survive" in conversation. It may be that instinctively the good learner realizes that communication comes in many wavelengths, and getting across the specific information of the moment is only the shortest of these. Other longer ones—to pursue the metaphor—require his using the language to a greater degree as a native speaker does, in order to share feelings (as opposed to making a simple statement of the feeling), to lie, to persuade, to joke, etc.

II. FOCUS. Not only the good learner but all students, tend not to rely on memorized phrases, even when they have been taught in such a way as to encourage dependence on such phrases. They try to frame their thoughts in their own words. In doing this, the good learner is intensely engaged in monitoring his own attempts to speak: he pauses to think; fumbles for a form; corrects and/or repeats himself; uses question intonation to ask if a form is correct, or often even says, "Is that right?" That is, he listens to what he is himself saying, and often seeks feedback actively from the native speaker. But also—and this is where the sheep really divide from the goats—he monitors the linguistic information which his partner unconsciously provides, especially the feedback to his own attempts to speak, which is contained in his partner's answers, rejoinders and comments. In the sense used here, "feedback" simply means a repetition of part or all of the information contained in the preceding statement; for example, if a student were to say, "I telephoned the school last night but nobody answered," a native speaker might well give the following rejoinder, "What time dod you call?" Contained in the redundancy "did you call" is a feedback item which the sensitive student can use to polish his sense of common usage: the preference for "call" rather than "telephone." Feedback of this kind is abundantly present in conversation on a one-to-one basis because of the natural redundancy of language; and the effective students seem to monitor this at an unconscious level while they listen. I say "unconscious" because, while listening, they are consciously quite fully engaged with meaning—comprehending, reacting to content, and preparing what they want to say next. They are not, nor would it be possible for them to be, engaged in a running conscious cataloguing of the structures, vocabulary and usage they are hearing; however, at some unconscious level they seem to be doing something of this sort, since from time to time they make a very obvious brief stop to "fix," or focus, on some item the native speaker has just said—whether this be because it represents a different way of saying what they just said (feedback *par excellence*), or a way of saying something they have wanted to be able to say, or an alternative way of saying something which they had been expressing previously in what they had thought was the most appropriate way.

This is probably the single most important behavior I am describing. The effective learner has a strong communicative drive, yes, but which exists in dynamic balance with another, probably unconscious, which lies quietly in wait for new and relevant bits of linguistic information while the learner listens, and jumps out at these when they occur in the flow of speech, causing a brief suspension of the purely communicative drive in order to concentrate momentarily on form, before going on. This is, of course, closely related to a skill in sensitive listening in general, and is the reason why conversation-dominators, or extremely talkative people in general, do not automatically make outstanding second-language learners in the sense of learning to speak the language idiomatically—contrary to much popular mythology.

Most students seem to feel that real improvement in the quality of their speech will only occur through the divine intervention of native speakers, and they do not take it upon themselves to monitor consistently. Many Spanish students, implying that outside conversation is less useful than class with a teacher, complain to me that Mexicans usually do not correct their errors during conversation. However, most students do not seem to benefit from it when they do. Furthermore, corrections during conversation are frequently received by students with an attitude of rejection. Even outstanding students very often react negatively to corrections imposed while they are speaking freely. This is partly a natural result of the fact that they are subject to the drives and pressures described above—

to communicate and to survive—but the fact that *all* students, even the best, do this, leads me to feel that the reaction has validity. Corrections imposed by the native speaker partner may not only not be useful; indeed, they may even be detrimental to learning.

An imposed correction is of little use if the student is not in a frame of mind receptive to being corrected, in general; but more specifically, a correction is probably useless if it does not deal with something the student is ready to learn at that point. This can be either because he really already knows the point in question and has simply made a slip—here, a correction is simply annoying and a needless embarrassment, especially to the good learner who has often already corrected himself mentally—or it can be because the point involved is too "advanced" for him, in the sense that he does not yet have anywhere to integrate it into, in his own interior system of the language (his interlanguage). For example, if a student is just getting the simple past (preterit) forms of Spanish working for him in conversation, he is in general neither emotionally nor linguistically ready to deal with the problem of selecting between them and the imperfect forms, even though he may well have already studied the imperfect in class by that time. Correction of the preterit-imperfect contrast at this point in time is probably not only useless but also disruptive of the student's learning, in that it challenges his current interlanguage system without offering a digestible alternative.

Therefore, since native speakers (a) do not correct much anyway, and (b) cannot know the internal state of the student vis-à-vis the language, the pursuit of new knowledge and quality practice in a conversation is a lonely task, the *student's* task. It neither can nor should be the responsibility of the native speaker partner. Good learners seem to realize this, and they set about conversation as an interaction with a being who is a source of information which they themselves must sort out and use—an informant, not a "teacher." To do this, they monitor and self-correct.

Another way of saying that a student is motivated to learn new things about a language would be to say that he has a strong drive to reduce uncertainty about new linguistic information. The effective learner certainly has this drive to a high degree, but again it is well-modulated, like his drive to communicate. He shows a selective sense of hierarchy, distinguishing what he is ready to absorb at a given moment, from what he should leave for the future. He does not seek to focus on everything new which he hears in a conversation. The over-zealous learner, who insists on understanding every word, every tense, every usage and in general every "why" immediately, oversaturates himself and does not make the progress which other students, apparently of no better ability, do. They learn best who can coexist tranquilly with large uncertainties for days or even weeks, until their knowledge has grown to a point where they have a place to fit the new knowledge in. A student who fixes on one vocabulary item per day relevant to his needs will learn more vocabulary in the long run than the one who strives to fill ten index cards daily.

Rubin comments that the good learner is comfortable with, and often even enjoys, uncertainty: he is able to live with vagueness. She says, ". . . the early learner should be encouraged to accept temporary vagueness in many . . . areas of language learning. In this sense, he will be replicating the more natural communication processes, where the participants in communication do not always hear, understand or properly interpret what is being said to them; still they do not panic but continue the conversation and see if the item becomes clarified in the course of the dialogue" (Rubin 1975:49–50). This should really apply to the learner at all levels of proficiency. The student who is able to coexist with vagueness reaps the important benefit of a far higher quality of learning, when the vague concepts finally do come in clear: he has not blinded himself to the subtle whole of a concept by a too-early definition. In vocabulary learning, for example, he is willing to learn many new words gradually, defining them by their appearance in various contexts, rather than seeking misleading synonym equivalences for them. Where he does posit synonym equivalences, he takes these with a grain of salt, as only a first approximating step towards understanding. And in general this learner definitely does come out speaking Spanish "more like the Mexicans," or English "more like the Americans."

One final comment on focus, which was previously defined as perception of new linguistic form and, when possible, figuring out how the form works. Now I would like to describe more specifically two complementary focus modes. In the first, or active mode, the student perceives a new structuring principle, or a vocabulary item which he can relate logically to another which he already knows, for example via a common stem; in these cases he does indeed "figure out the logic." But in the second mode, he perceives something new which he cannot deal with in a logical way. The effective student does not reject such information as "illogical," but acquiesces—he accepts and learns it as it is, as a whole—often a whole phrase or sentence.

The following are examples of the sort of information which effective learners seem to acquire via this "acquiescent" focus mode:

a) idiomatic expressions and words (except for words which have a logical derivation from roots he already knows);

b) structural irregularities and irregular forms, again with the exception of those which fall into an irregular pattern which he already knows;

c) difficult conceptual and semantic contrasts. This can include anything from usage of vocabulary (for example, exactly what is included within the categories "car," "bus," and "truck" in English, or "carro," "coche," "camión," "camioneta" in Spanish; or, what range of color concepts are included in each of the three Somali colors, which cover the entire spectrum), to what we might consider grammatical contrasts, such as use of preterit vs. imperfect in Spanish or French; or in English, when to use the present perfect and when the simple past.

The effective student tends to approach all these problems in basically the same way. Even in the case of conceptual contrasts he often tends not to first deduce a generalization and subsequently apply it; and often he seems unable to apply such a generalization well even if one is offered him by his teacher. This is particularly true when the contrast is most subtle or most inimical to the way of seeing implied by the native language; this is of course obvious, but what may not be so obvious is that in these cases the good student does not give up, but attacks the problem from the opposite direction—by learning piecemeal, or randomly accumulating separate phrase or sentence examples, precisely in the same way as he builds a vocabulary by randomly accumulating separate items. And as he acquiesces that ''house'' be ''house,'' he acquiesces that in a certain sentence in a particular context the verb is imperfect, and he learns the sentence, or part of it, as a whole. He handles these most difficult conceptual contrasts by learning a great many examples of their use randomly, over time—one could even say by rote—and absorbs the principle often without ever attacking it consciously, often realizing it only when he observes what he himself is already doing in speech.

If this description sounds reminiscent of the theoretical underpinnings which were postulated for language learning in general during the heyday of audio-lingual—it is. Here, however, it is not offered as a total explanation, but as part of a wider whole; and as part of a whole process is shaped and permeated by influences from other parts. For example, although I have described it as ''acquiescent,'' it may not be truly passive nor isolated from cognitive processes. I would like to suggest that the process of ''random'' accumulation may not be entirely random: quite possibly the student uses the rule or generalization which he already ''knows'' but cannot yet apply, as a guide in selecting examples to internalize, thus expediting the process described above. Whereas in audio-lingual the student was not usually credited with even the ability to apply rules in speech, in this view he may be doing something still more sophisticated:

manipulating them, in a complex way, in order to emerge eventually with functioning generative principles which, if articulated, often differ significantly from the rules as he was originally given them. That is, rules themselves become clay in the good learner's hands.

So, once again, we find a dynamic blend of opposites: action and acquiescence. The good learner shows both a very active drive to figure it all out, and a willingness to be passive, superficially at least, at times: to absorb, suspending the questions. The key is a sensitive selection of when to do which.

III. PRACTICE, or developing habits and, from habits, fluency, through repeated use. As noted previously, this can often have a cognitive aspect, since the good learner is always ready to pick up feedback on whether he has rightly applied his utterance in a new situation. However, we referred to practice as being, in the main, the most "behaviorist" of the three steps, and in a rough sense it certainly is, since this is where we see the student attaining habits in production and listening—which is, of course, the general goal of the teaching methods based on the behaviorist theory of learning. However, I would like to drop this label and say that practice includes the following tasks, some of which could certainly be challenged as not permissible in a strictly behaviorist interpretation of learning:

a) remembering, or committing information to long-term (permanent) memory—although this may really be more closely associated with the focussing process, it is included here for simplicity;
b) retrieval, or pulling out and using information once it is stored in long-term memory;
c) selection, or deciding which linguistic information out of the student's total store is most adequate for the task of the moment (this is probably simultaneous to, and certainly intimately related to, retrieval);
d) habit formation in selection, retrieval, oral production, and comprehension. This is of course the basis of fluency.

We will not now examine all these processes. I would like simply to offer some brief comments on some of them, as they have been handled by our "effective" students of Spanish. Apparently, once information is committed to long-term memory, it is never forgotten or erased, although we may often lose all access to it—as can be seen graphically in reports from primal therapy, in which clients often remember (indeed, relive) traumatic birth experiences which they thought were completely forgotten. (For a concise introductory description of memory types and retrieval, see Frank Smith, *Understanding Reading*, 1971:77–78.) The association-type "memory" strategies, such as mnemonic devices, odd associations between words in the new language and the mother tongue, remembering an emotionally important situation where the item was used, and so forth, are probably better classed as retrieval strategies than as devices for getting items into the memory. And retrieval is probably the second most important area where sheep and goats part company in language learning; the good learner works on developing and maintaining retrieval channels for his new information. After taking a focus or cognitive "fix" on an item which is important to him, he will usually repeat it to himself once, or often twice, before going on with the conversation; and there is an extremely high correlation between really excellent progress in conversation, on the one hand, and a tendency to repeat new items *again,* at a later pause in the conversation—five, ten or even fifteen minutes after the initial focus and repetition occurred. This last item—repetition after a lapse of time and attention—is the essence of developing retrieval channels, and as a behavior it is so clearly correlated with really superior progress, that it would seem that systematic attention to retrieval is as important as is monitoring conversational feedback. It should be noted that the good learner is sparing about trying to remember things in this way: two or three items from an hour or two of conversation are usually quite enough for him, again because, if he tried to do much more, he would oversaturate himself, and none of the material would be well learned.

Finally, retrieval channels are strengthened and integrated with the network of channels to other information, and habit formation begins, as the good learner makes real efforts to use new items again in sentences, in the same conversation or in later ones. This often leads to his being wordy or repetitious; he often gives a complete sentence answer where one or two words would do, in order to reuse a new item.

IV. IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHING. Since I am only beginning to try to mold my teaching after these observations, the following suggestions are mostly tentative. Also, this listing does not take into account possible differences in the configuration of the learner's needs at different levels of proficiency.

a) Good learners focus first, figure it out if they can, and only then begin to practice in order to develop habits. That is, steps II and III are largely chronological in ordering. It is probably therefore useless to present new material which the student needs to understand before beginning to practice, in a mechanical fashion such as pattern-drilling. Most new surface structure should be presented cognitively first (the silent way and its variants are an example of this approach, though they are certainly not the only way to make a student think out a structuring principle), and only later should the class do exercises designed to provide practice. For practice in retrieval and selection, one proven effective device is the description or narration of comic strips without words, such as "Louie" (idea from Jean Bodman, in a teacher training program at Fénix, 1973). These can be selected to provide an immediate use of the day's or week's new material, but simultaneously the student must retrieve, and select among, other items which he learned previously, in order to give a complete description of the plot. And at some time after the cognitive attack on new material, that material should probably be drilled in some fashion with the emphasis on habit-formation (although correction during these drills should probably lean toward a cognitive type, since if the student does not understand his error he is decidedly not ready for habit-formation.)

b) After an initial introduction to the forms and the idea, difficult concept and usage areas of the language should probably be taught piecemeal, gradually building up a store of common examples, and in general *avoiding* the contrastive exercises so dear to most teachers' hearts. (The much-maligned dialogue can be very useful for this, as long as the principal thrust of the student's analytical attention is directed towards other material in the dialogue. The principle could be playfully compared to the fact that very faint stars are invisible if looked at directly, but can be seen with lateral vision.) EFFECTIVE LEARNERS DO NOT SEEM TO LEARN TO USE DIFFICULT SEMANTIC CONCEPTS IN THEIR SPEECH BY THINKING IN CONTRASTS; rather, their approach seems to suggest an attempt to develop a whole identity for each concept by itself, avoiding a continual contrastive reference to any other. And so, if in our teaching we insist that selection between contrasting items is the fundamental process—we may be exacerbating a small problem, or even creating one where none might have existed.

c) It is not enough to tell students to monitor conversational feedback to their utterances. Opportunities to do this, where, indeed, a premium is placed on doing it, should probably be built into the class. Specific and constant work on listening skills may produce this by-product at the same time; also, counseling and community language learning techniques, perhaps in a modified form, might be a step in this direction.

d) It is probably wise to de-emphasize the teacher as an authority figure as much as possible. Small-group work, of course, could help with this, as well as independent assignments requiring learning through speaking. An example of the latter would be an assignment which I usually give to beginning classes in Spanish:

each must learn three new words through conversational means—no printed media allowed—and teach them to the class through acting-out. This exercise occurs in the context of practicing the new structure, "How do you say ________ in Spanish?," and the students demonstrate by their teaching of the words that they have indeed learned something about their own potential for self-teaching.

e) Finally—learning is complex, individual and very emotional, as I have implied at various points, though I have not developed emotional strategies as a separate theme in this paper. We may often want to do something heretical if, although we are convinced it will not help the student to advance linguistically, it may help remove an emotional block or lower defenses; or, more positively, if it can provide an emotional association or stimulate interest. In Fénix we have not paid much systematic attention to this area; however, strategies which have helped, run the gamut from group dynamics activities conducted in the second language, to games, partying in general, and—yes—drinking with students. In Spanish, of course.

References

Rubin, Joan. 1975. What the "good language learner" can teach us. *TESOL Quarterly 9,* 1, 41–51.

Smith, Frank. 1971. *Understanding reading: a psycholinguistic analysis of reading and learning to read.* New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

The Authenticity of Language Data

HENRY G. WIDDOWSON

Over recent years we have witnessed an increasing concern on the part of the linguist with the communicative functioning of language. There is a feeling abroad that for a linguistic description to be adequate it must not reduce natural language to an algebraic system but should attempt to account for "authentic" data, the language user's own experience of language in contexts of use. This movement towards an approximation to authenticity has its dangers: it can lead to a linguistics of anecdote and *ad hoc* observation and a neglect of methodological principles upon which any systematic account must depend. The shift in perspective within theoretical linguistics has had its influence on language teaching and it is now quite common to find the advocacy of an approach which focuses on communicative activity. The review of what should count as adequacy in linguistic description has led to a reconsideration of the criteria for adequacy in language teaching. But again there are dangers. Too exclusive a concern for "authentic" language behaviour as communication can lead to a disregard of methodological principles upon which the pedagogy of language teaching must depend. What I want to do in this paper is to point out these dangers by investigating the notion of authenticity with reference to the teaching of English for specific, and particularly academic, purposes.

As I have suggested, applied linguistics have been inspired by recent theoretical explorations of the communicative properties of language to question the effectiveness of a teaching approach which concentrates on the manipulation of structures as an end in itself and to advocate one which takes note of how structures are realized in meaningful communicative behaviour. Both in the theoretical study of language and in the practical teaching of languages communicative competence is in vogue. But although this pedagogic concern for communication derives partly from the influence of a prevailing linguistic fashion, it has been given a particular urgency by changing trends in the English language learning market and the emergence of a new kind of consumer. Previously, the main effort in the teaching of English took place within the context of general primary and secondary education. English was a subject like other subjects and the learner's achievement was measured by examinations designed essentially to validate the syllabus rather than to reflect actual communicative needs. In these circumstances teaching was required to prepare learners for

---

This selection is based on teaching done in a presentation at the meeting of the Applied Linguistics Special Interest Group at the 1976 TESOL Convention. Henry Widdowson teaches at the University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, England EH89LN.

the examination but not (except incidentally) for an encounter with language use. The belief in general was that what was learned was a kind of investment, audited, as it were, at the examination, which could be realized as something of real communicative value if and when the need arose. Recently, however, English teaching has been called upon to meet the needs of people who have to actually use the language for occupational and academic purposes. In these circumstances, it has to cope with a connection with the real world and provide for immediate communicative needs. The investment is a short term one and its value will be judged on immediate returns. English for special purposes (ESP), whether these be occupational (EOP) or academic (EAP) requires a teaching methodology which will guide learners towards an ability to handle language in use. Its adequacy can only be measured by its success in achieving this aim. In general ELT or TEFL, it is desirable to adopt a communicative approach to language teaching, but we are not likely to incur any drastic penalty if we do not do so. But in ESP such an approach is not only desirable but mandatory since if we do not satisfy the communicative requirements of the learners the penalties are likely to be severe: our methodology will be exposed as ineffective and sooner or later we are likely to be out of a job.

Developments in theoretical studies of language and the practical requirements of learners, then, both converge on the need to adopt a communicative perspective in the teaching of ESP, one that will develop communicative competence and prepare the learner for an authentic experience of language. But now how do we set about devising procedures which will bring this about? The point of view has been expressed that since our aim is to enable the learner to produce and process actual language use, then we should expose him to authentic language data right away. This view represents an understandable reaction against the kind of contrived language data which is a feature of many textbooks and which is simply cited to demonstrate how the rules of the language system can be manifested in sentences. The following will serve as an example:

> Ali and Bashir are brothers. Every morning they get up at five o'clock and wash their hands and face. They have their breakfast at six o'clock. They have an egg and a banana for their breakfast. They had an egg and a banana for their breakfast yesterday morning. They are having an egg and a banana for their breakfast this morning and they will have an egg and a banana for their breakfast tomorrow morning.

We recognize this as artificial language data which has been contrived for demonstration purposes: it does not carry conviction as actual language behaviour. In this respect it is predominantly an instance of usage rather than of use, and is comparable with the kind of sentences which linguists invent to demonstrate the working of linguistic rules. It is we might say linguistic data without being language data.

But although we may recognize and deplore the artificiality of this utterance, does it follow that all contrivance is necessarily to be avoided and that the only data we should expose learners to should be actual, attested instances of use? We can only arrive at a satisfactory answer to such a question by considering what we might mean when we talk about authentic language.

I am not suce that it is meaningful to talk about authentic language as such at all. I think it is probably better to consider authenticity not as a quality residing in instances of language but as a quality which is bestowed upon them, created by the response of the receiver. Authenticity in this view is a function of the interaction between the reader/hearer and the discourse as incorporating the intentions of the writer/speaker. We do not recognize authenticity as something there waiting to be noticed, we realize it in the act of interpretation. Thus the reason we see the data just cited as artificial is that we cannot easily respond to it as an instance of use: if we read it as an instance of usage, then it satisfies our expectations and becomes authentic as usage. What is objectionable about it, therefore, is not that it is in itself inauthentic but that we make it so by requiring it to satisfy an expectation which it cannot satisfy: it does not allow us to respond authentically to it if we wish to regard it as natural language behaviour.

I wish to argue, then, that authenticity has to do with appropriate response. But what does this appropriacy entail? I think we have to take a deep breath at this point and plunge into a consideration of an author's intentions. Let us suppose that we are confronted with a piece of written discourse. How do we establish an authentic relation with it? We do so, I suggest, by recovering the intentions of the writer. Now it may be objected that it is never possible to know whether or not we have in fact done this, particularly in written discourse where there is no opportunity for the kind of negotiation of meanings which goes on in spoken discourse. But I think the inaccessibility of intentions has been somewhat exaggerated. The writer of a particular instance of discourse may have individual intentions, but he has to convey these through certain conventions which define the kind of discourse he is producing. If conventions did not exist to mediate the communication between writer and reader, then intentions could not be conveyed at all. Some of these conventions are linguistic and relate to the shared knowledge of the language code: others are rhetorical and relate to the shared knowledge of how the code is used in particular kinds of discourse. So when I speak of appropriate response, I mean the reader's interpretation by reference to the conventions associated with a particular discourse type. Authenticity, then, is achieved when the reader realizes the intentions of the writer by reference to a set of shared conventions.

It follows from this definition that a discourse may be written in conformity with a set of conventions, but still lack the quality of authenticity for particular readers. When we have conformity on the part of the writer we may say that the discourse is genuine whether or not it is authentic from the reader's point of view. Thus, for example, I may pick up a genuine novel and read it as a political manifesto, thereby not realizing its authenticity as a work of fiction. In short, I am reading it wrongly. Similarly, if I treat a poem as a sample of language for grammatical analysis, the poem is still a genuine poem but it is not authentic as a poem since I do not treat it like one. One of the difficulties of literary uses of language, of course, is that the conventions are frequently very difficult to recognize and the authenticity of some works of literature is so elusive that people will often deny them any literary status whatever.

Authenticity, then depends on a congruence of the language producer's intentions and language receiver's interpretation, this congruence being effected through a shared knowledge of conventions. It is clear that if this view is accepted it makes no sense simply to expose learners to genuine language use unless they know the conventions which would enable them to realize it as authentic. Thus, confronted with a class of physics students wanting to learn English so as to read textbooks in their subject, I might be tempted to select passages of discourse which are thematically relevant from a whole range of sources on the assumption that I am thereby furthering the communicative purpose for which the learners need the language. But if I then exploit these passages for the traditional kind of comprehension question, structure exercise and so on, their authentic potential remains unrealized. I might just as well have selected an extract from the Highway Code or Winnie the Pooh. The fact that the data is genuine is irrelevant.

If we are to achieve the kind of communicative goals in teaching that ESP requires of us, then we have to confront the problem of how to develop in the learner that awareness of conventions of communication which alone will ensure the necessary appropriacy of response. We do not begin with authenticity; authenticity is what the learners should ultimately achieve: it represents their terminal behaviour.

The belief that one can reach this end simply by exposing learners to genuine instances of discourse is misleading in two respects. Firstly, it misrepresents the essentially interactive nature of discourse. Meanings are not as it were there, present in the text awaiting collection: they are recovered by negotation with the aid of shared conventions.

Discourse is achieved by active interpretation, and unless the receiver is capable of the activity required of him then he can never realize the discourse as authentic. Secondly, it misrepresents the essentially contrived nature of methodology. The whole point of any pedagogic procedure is to defer the learner's encounter with what he will ultimately have to deal with until he has been prepared to cope with it. The Pedagogy of any subject aims at guiding learners towards their terminal behaviour by the contrivance of appropriate intervening stages.

Let us then face up to our responsibilities and consider what might be involved in devising a methodology for the adequate teaching of communicative competence. We will suppose that we are concerned with students of science and that they need English in order to read basic textbooks. How do we proceed? There are, I think, two main stages, the selection of discourse in relation to the assumed terminal behaviour of the learners and the subjection of this material to a pedagogic processing to ensure the eventual achievement of this behaviour. Selection first. It would seem reasonable to make our selection with reference to the kind of discourse which our learners will be expected to deal with at the end of the course. If this is accepted, it will be obvious that in the case in question we will wish to select written discourse which concerns itself with subject matter related to science, (and perhaps more narrowly to particular branches of science). We will be inclined to avoid cooking recipes, economic reviews and epic poetry. But selection according to scientific subject matter will not automatically yield the kind of discourse that is appropriate to our learners' needs. It is useful, I think, to make a broad distinction between three types of discourse all of which might loosely be referred to as 'scientific.' Firstly we have that which is associated with science as a discipline. This is scientist to scientist communication such as is found in papers published in learned journals. It characteristically trades heavily on an assumption of shared knowledge, not only of the subject matter under discussion but of the rhetorical conventions which control the way it is expressed. These conventions can be ultimately related to the philosophy of science. The discourse of science as a discipline differs rhetorically in a number of crucial ways from the discourse of science as a subject. This is science teacher to science student communication such as is found in textbooks. Whereas the discoure of the discipline is typically referential, ratiocinative, elliptical, that of the subject is typically metalinguistic, didactic, explicit. Its rhetorical conventions derive from the methodology of science teaching. Although they may resemble each other in the sense that they deal with scientific subject matter, these types of discourse may be very different in respect to the rhetorical conventions they conform to, (although, as we shall see, these differences are ranged along a continuum which relates the two discourse types). Different from either of these is the discourse of science as a topic of interest. This is journalist to general reader communication such as is found in newspapers and popular journals. Rhetorical conventions vary considerably here depending on the readership aimed at.

Now if we are intent on developing in our learners a knowledge of the conventions which constrain the discourse of science as a subject, then it will not greatly advance our cause if we select our data from other kinds of discourse. We do not very effectively establish the conditions for an authentic relationship between reader and a particular type of discourse by training him in an awareness of conventions associated with a different type. Those who advocate the use of "authentic" data do not always recognize this: they seem often to be content if the data is thematically scientific. But data which is rhetorically inappropriate is just as "inauthentic" as that which is thematically irrelevant. A popular newspaper account of a new scientific discovery is no more appropriate to the needs of the learners we are considering at present than is a textbook description of rice cultivation or the principles of the capitalist economy. Indeed it might be less appropriate.

For the kind of students we have in mind then, we would be well advised to make our selection from the discourse of science as a subject. Our range of choice is still very wide, however, and we have to narrow it down even further. We can do this by selecting at the relevant level of instruction, using as source the kind of textbooks that the learner will eventually have to read.

Our next task is to process our material, to prepare it pedagogically in some way so as to bring the learner to the point when he is capable of responding to the genuine discourse we have selected in authentic fashion. This is where the 'doctoring' comes in, the pedagogic tampering with data that the 'authentic data' school complains about. My argument would be that the pedagogic process must necessarily involve some kind of tampering in order to bring learners to the point at which they can realize the authenticity of the language by appropriate response. It is not enough to establish ends which are adequate: we must also establish adequate means of achieving them. The central problem confronting us is how to prepare our material in such a way as to guide the learners to an awareness of the communicative conventions operating in the kind of discourse they will be concerned with.

This problem represents the main challenge of ESP. To meet it, one has to identify the selected discourse in terms of its essential rhetorical conventions and then devise techniques for presenting these conventions in the most effective way. Let us consider the identification aspect of the problem first. I said earlier that the language producer's intentions are accessible to interpretation because they are conveyed by reference to sets of communicative conventions. Some of these are, of course, quite simply linguistic conventions incorporated in a shared language code, and we should not forget that the learning of the code is a necessary, if it is not a sufficient, condition for communication to take place. There is some danger that an over enthusiastic commitment to communicative language teaching might lead us to ignore this simple and essential fact. Other conventions are rhetorical: they have to do with how the code is used in the expression of propositions and in the performance of illocutionary acts of different kinds. If we are to describe discourse with reference to these we have to study what propositions are expressed in the particular type of discourse we have selected, how the resources of the English code are deployed in their expression, what illocutionary acts they are used to perform and how these acts are organized into larger communicative units as routines or paragraphs.

But our concern is not with how all these things are done in individual samples but how they are done in this type of discourse in general. We need to typify a kind of discourse, not to characterize a particular instance. I said earlier that a writer is constrained by convention in his writing. He is not, however, thereby denied all freedom of manoeuvre. Scientific textbooks do not (thank heavens) conform to a fixed formula. They exhibit idiosyncratic stylistic variations within the limits of shared rhetorical conventions. If these limits are breached, of course, then the discourse becomes accordingly less genuine and the communication is impaired to the extent that the reader cannot make reference to the shared conventions which act as the necessary mediation between intention and interpretation. Authenticity is then difficult to achieve. But even if stylistic variation is kept within limits so that the practised interpreter can recover the underlying rhetoric, for the learner whose task is precisely to learn what the rhetoric is, this variation creates additional difficulties.

In view of this, I think there is a case for presenting versions of some of the selected samples in which the idiosyncratic stylistic effects have been filtered out. This, of course, reduces the genuineness of these samples of data but I would argue that such a procedure ultimately helps to establish the authentic relation I have been speaking of in that it makes the rhetorical conventions more accessible to learner response. As teaching proceeds, the filter can be adjusted to allow more stylistic features to appear until the learner is eventually confronted with genuine samples. In this way I believe we can, by sound pedagogic practice, achieve the desired aim of making genuineness correspond with authenticity.

The writing of versions of discourse to foreground rhetorical features naturally presupposes a knowledge of what these features are. This is the ESP challenge I spoke of earlier. The language teacher who adopts a structuralist orientation to his task can turn to descriptive and pedagogic grammar as a source of reference. But we appear to have no descriptive or pedagogic rhetoric to which the ESP teacher can refer for guidance as to how to teach communicative competence. This should not occasion too much dismay, however. I pointed out earlier that the rhetorical conventions of science as a subject derive from the methodology of science. Essentially what this methodology is concerned with is the process whereby the learner gradually acquires the concepts and procedures of enquiry which define science as a discipline. It represents, therefore, precisely the basic rhetoric of science as a subject which the ESP teacher needs. Furthermore, this very rhetoric has been devised as a methodological procedure for the presentation of just those conventions of thought and expression which the ESP will wish to present as realized through the English language. Hence the methodology of science can serve as the guide to the second aspect of our problem: how to devise techniques for presenting the rhetorical conventions of science as a subject in the most effective way.

I do not wish to suggest that all our problems in designing an English for Science programme will be solved by studying the methodology of science. For one thing, we still have to consider how its rhetoric is expressed in the particular medium of the English language. For another, we have to fashion techniques which will reconcile the teaching of these rhetorical conventions with the teaching of the linguistic conventions of the code: we are, let us not forget, still teaching English in a second language situation. What I do wish to suggest, however, is that there is a good deal we can learn from our colleagues who are teaching those academic subjects for which we are teaching English. In fact, I want to suggest something rather more than this: that ESP requires a revision of the language teacher's traditional dependence on linguistic description and a readiness to form new alliances. At this point I return to what I said at the beginning of this paper about adequacy.

My argument has been that in ESP we are concerned with developing a methodology which will ultimately provide for the learner's ability to realize an authentic relationship with genuine discourse of relevance to his purposes in learning. I have emphasised that this methodology like any other, is contrived. But it does not have to be contrived in a contextual vacuum. It can be designed with reference to another methodology whose purpose is to engage the interest of learners in developing their knowledge of a particular area of enquiry, to ensure that what is presented to them takes on the reality of intellectual experience. In other words, this methodology aims at creating an authentic response, and it is only adequate to the extent that it does so. And I think that a language teaching methodology which relates to it can also achieve adequacy through authenticity in the same way. One of the most important effects of an involvement in ESP is that it leads us to recognize that in language teaching we are as much concerned with teaching as with language, that the way other people devise communicative pedagogies is just as relevant as models of linguistic description. In fact, models of linguistic description have not always had a beneficial effect on language teaching. This again, I think is because teachers have not always recognized the importance of establishing pedagogic principles.

I have said that an uncritical acceptance of the need to present learners with "authentic" data can lead to an avoidance of pedagogic responsibility. An uncritical acceptance of the authority of models of linguistic description can have the same effect. Teachers have been inclined to be too deferential to linguists in the past, too ready to follow their lead. I do not wish to deny that theoretical linguistics can provide insights which can be exploited in the practical domain of teaching and indeed I pointed out at the beginning that the impetus towards a communicative approach to language teaching has been inspired in part by developments in theoretical studies of language. But it is perfectly possible, and I would claim necessary, to construct pedagogically oriented models of description which though deriving from such insights are informed also by methodological principles which (as in the case of ESP we have considered) can be established by reference to the teaching of other subjects. Pedagogic descriptions are just as legitimate as are the alternative derivations which are designed to meet the theoretical requirements of formal models of linguistic description: just as legitimate and more adequate for the purpose for which they are designed.

It is important, it seems to me, for the language teacher to recognize that he is the authority in his own domain. Many of the problems in language teaching have in the past been, as it were, self-inflicted, created by the teacher's overzealous servility in imitating whatever model of linguistic description happened to be currently in vogue. But the teacher should have his own principles of description, his own criteria for adequacy, and these derive from pedagogic considerations. With authority comes responsibility. The teacher's business is the design of effective methodologies: those which will lead the learner towards the required terminal behaviour by the shortest possible route. To suppose that, in the teaching of ESP, this will be achieved automatically by exposing the learner to 'real' language is to shirk this responsibility. There is no such thing as authentic language data. Authenticity is realized by appropriate response and the language teacher is responsible for designing a methodology which will establish the condition whereby this authenticity can ultimately be achieved.

Organizational Get-Together

Each year, TESOL hosts an Organizational Get-Together at its Convention to provide an opportunity for organizations involved with second language teaching to become familiar with TESOL and to provide TESOL members with a chance to become familiar with related professional organizations. In addition to cultural groups, TESOL affiliates, government offices, university and private language institutes, these organizations were guests at the Organizational Get-Together at the 1976 TESOL Convention. Each one sponsors annual meetings and/or journals related to the work of TESOL.

American Council for the
Teaching of Foreign
Languages (ACTFL)
C. Edward Scebold,
Executive Secretary and
Editor, *Foreign Language Annals*
62 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10011

Center for Applied Linguistics
CAL Newsletter
1611 N. Kent Street
Arlington, Virginia 22209

The English Speaking Union
of the United States
John I. B. McCulloch, President
English Around the World
16 East 69th Street
New York, New York 10021

Language Learning
Editor
2001 North University Building
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104

National Association of
Bilingual Educators (NABE)
Hernan LaFontaine, President
Office of Bilingual Education
New York City Board of
Education
Brooklyn, New York 11201

National Association for Public
Continuing and Adult
Education (NAPCAE)
1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

The United States
Information Agency (USIA)
English Teaching Staff
Washington, D.C. 20547

To inform professionals of the work of two of these groups, and

TESOL itself, in more detail, we have included brief descriptions of The English Speaking Union, The United States Information Agency and TESOL. Additional information about all these organizations may be obtained by writing directly to them.

The English Speaking Union of the United States

The English Speaking Union of the United States was founded in 1920 "to draw together in the bonds of comradeship the English-speaking peoples of the world." One of its goals is to develop an informed and caring citizenry through the expanded use of the English language. As English becomes increasingly the tongue of worldwide communication, the explosive demand for help in learning English affords a critical opportunity for the English-speaking peoples to share their heritage as well as their language.

To advance its purpose, the English Speaking Union has close to 33,000 members in 78 branches in the United States. These branches sponsor scholarship programs, teacher exchanges and travel grants which amount annually to over $100,000. In addition, the E-SU's National Office administers a further $20,000 each year in scholarships and travel grants as well as a further unknown amount through in-kind reciprocity of hospitality to exchange students and other visitors to this country on E-SU sponsored programs. The E-SU's "Books-Across-the-Sea" program provides an interchange of books and publications with the Commonwealth countries and circulates book collections and annotated lists on request to libraries, schools, colleges and public affairs groups throughout the United States.

Younger members within a branch often organize a special unit to conduct their own activities, usually combining informational and public service programs and social events with fund raising. One branch has established a Commonwealth Schoolbook Fund which supplies the wherewithal to purchase needed books for Third World countries where English is a second language.

To help meet its goal of communication—the ability to talk with other people, to share concepts of human relations—The English Speaking Union of the United States publishes a newsletter called *English Around the World*. To be placed on the mailing list, send your name and address to the headquarters of The English Speaking Union in New York City.

In 1976 the English Speaking Union incorporated into its organization the English in Action program which, although based in New York, is nationwide. It consists of one-to-one conversational practice sessions designed to improve the spoken English of foreign residents in the United States.

The United States Information Agency—English Teacher Activities

The U.S. Information Agency (USIA) is known outside the United States as the U.S. Information Service (USIS). Teaching English overseas, providing EFL consultation services, and developing and reviewing materials are the English teaching activities of USIA.

Worldwide English teaching activities are supported by USIS offices overseas, assisted by a Washington-based staff of EFL specialists. USIS-sponsored English teaching activities include English language instruction for adults at Binational Centers (autonomous institutions operated by associations of local citizens and American residents) and at U.S. Information or Cultural Centers. Some Centers—Bangkok, Athens, and Tehran, for example—have enrollments of upwards of 7,000 students.

Other EFL activities are seminars for national teachers of English dealing with methodology, linguistics, American culture, and cross cultural communication. The seminars may be sponsored by USIS or Binational Centers, usually in cooperation with the local Ministry of Education. During academic year 1975–76, USIS offices participated in 135 such seminars.

A staff of experienced USIA EFL specialists provides guidance to USIS field officers on the selection and use of teaching materials. They evaluate and advise on USIS English teaching activities and participate in the seminars described above. Upon request, they consult with local Ministries of Education, universities, and teacher associations on curriculum and materials development, EFL library collections, preservice and inservice training projects, testing, audio visuals, and U.S. commercial and academic EFL resources available in all these areas.

In academic year 1975–76, USIA Consultants participated in 27 inservice training workshops for Binational Center and USIS Information Center teachers and took part in 77 consultation projects with Ministries of Education, universities, and USIS offices in nine Latin American and twelve Sub-Saharan African countries as well as in Yugoslavia, Thailand, Poland, Turkey, Greece, Cyprus, Italy, Portugal, Pakistan, Syria, Egypt, Yemen, Jordan, Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain, Afghanistan, Nepal and Saudi Arabia.

A Washington-based materials development staff reviews new American publications and non-print teaching materials. The staff compiles an annotated catalog, issued biennially, which may be available to the overseas academic community from USIS.

The materials staff also develops texts, readers, reference materials, VTRs, films, and audio tapes designed for use as supplementary material by teachers and teacher trainers. Pedagogically sound, this material contains cultural background information of interest to students studying English outside the United States. The recently developed eight-volume *Progressive Reading Series,* with both original and adapted materials, provides easy reading in EFL at the 1000–3000 word levels. Varied exercises focusing on a grammatical structure featured in the reading follow each selection. *Highlights of American Literature,* four illustrated volumes, presents selections of American literature from its beginnings to the contemporary period. This series forms a part of an Advanced Study Course in English for adult learners and is used in university American literature survey courses or with the American history series, *Heritage of Freedom,* in American civilization survey courses.

The United States Information and Exchange Act of 1948, as amended in 1972, prohibits the distribution of USIA-developed materials within the United States, its territories, or possessions.

An important publication supported by USIA is the *English Teaching Forum,* a professional journal distributed to EFL teachers and educational institutions outside the U.S. Now in its fifteenth year, this quarterly publication provides a useful channel for the exchange of ideas and information about English language teaching. Each issue contains articles on the English language, applied linguistics, and methodology written by members of the academic community in the U.S. and other countries who wish to share their ideas and techniques with colleagues throughout the world. The *Forum* also includes articles related to American literature and culture, as well as special teaching aids, such as, wall charts, maps, and recorded discs. The October 1976 issue, for example, featured the *Forum's* sixth recorded disc, "Communication Songs and Dialogues," with explanatory pedagogical notes. The *English Teaching Forum* is distributed regularly by U.S. Embassies to Ministries of Education, universities, schools, and individual teachers of English.

Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL)

TESOL is a not-for-profit organization whose purposes are to promote scholarship, to disseminate information, to strengthen at all levels instruction and research in the teaching of standard English to speakers of other languages or dialects, and to cooperate in appropriate ways with other groups having similar concerns. The organization welcomes membership from individuals and groups in the United States and abroad. It provides an institutional center for the new professionalism that has been gaining momentum since World War II among English-as-a-second-language teachers and supervisors in public and private education, and in college faculty responsible for the preparation of teachers.

TESOL's services to its members include publication of *The TESOL Quarterly, The TESOL Newsletter, The TESOL Membership Directory* and occasional special publications such as bibliographies, state of the art papers, focus reports, university resources lists, collections of presentations at each year's convention like the one you are now reading, etc. A complete list of TESOL publications is available at the national office: 455 Nevils Building, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. 20057.

TESOL also sponsors a yearly convention featuring prominent speakers in the field, special interest group workshops, study groups, seminars, round tables and demonstration lessons; this publication, *On TESOL '76*, presents a picture of one such convention.

In addition to the central office, the organization also has regional affiliates—designed to help teachers from the local level to develop and maintain effective organizations which constantly seek improvement in the teaching of English as a second language. Twenty-three affiliates have already been formed, including five outside of the United States.

Membership is for the calendar year and is open to all persons and institutions interested in teaching English as a second or foreign language. Please fill out the application on the next page and return to the central office. As a member you will receive *The TESOL Quarterly, The TESOL Newsletter* and *Membership Directory*.

James E. Alatis is the executive secretary of TESOL.

CUT ON BROKEN LINE

Please Do Not Use For Renewal Membership
For New Membership Only

MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION ONLY

____
(Fill in year)

(January–December Only)

NAME (Print)____

MAILING ADDRESS____

CITY______________________________STATE______________ZIP________

POSITION TITLE____

INSTITUTION____

Please make check payable to TESOL and mail to:

TESOL
455 Nevils Building
Georgetown University
Washington, D.C. 20057, U.S.A.

Membership includes subscription to TESOL QUARTERLY and TESOL NEWSLETTER

Back issues will be sent to those who become members during the calendar year (January–December).

REGULAR MEMBERSHIP	**$ 14.00***
STUDENT Membership (For those engaged in at least half-time study)	**$ 7.00***
JOINT HUSBAND-WIFE Membership	**$ 21.00***
INSTITUTIONAL Membership	**$ 21.00***
COMMERCIAL Membership	**$100.00***

(If your mailing address is Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras Republic, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Spain and Possessions, Uruguay, or Venezuela, add 50c mailing charge. For all other foreign countries, please add $1.00.) Members in foreign countries who wish their Quarterlies sent air mail should so specify and add $7.50 to their membership fee.

Please check, among the following, your area of **chief** interest. Check only one:

_______ English as a Foreign Language, in foreign countries
_______ English as a Foreign Language, for foreign students in the U.S.
_______ English as a Second Language, for U.S. residents in general
_______ English as a Second Language, in bilingual education
_______ English as a Second Language, in adult education
_______ Standard English as a Second Dialect
_______ Applied Linguistics (relevant linguistic studies and research)

(The above information is needed in order to form special interest groups according to the Bylaws of the Constitution.)

* These figures apply for 1977. For future years, please inquire as to amount of dues.